





# Rabin defends police against charge of brutality

PRIME Minister Yitzhak Rabin came to the defense of the police, who have been accused of manhandling right-wing protesters in recent demonstrations, telling yesterday's cabinet meeting that the "police are enforcing the law and working within the framework of the law."

His comments came four days before a planned mass demonstration by Zo Artzenu in front of the Prime Minister's residence in Jerusalem to coincide with the second anniversary of the signing of the Oslo accords.

The group is also calling for a halt to traffic throughout the country.

Last night, the group rejected a call from police to obtain a permit for its demonstration.

"The government has lost its legitimacy, and to ask for a permit from the police would be recognizing the legitimacy of the government," said Zo Artzenu head Moshe Feiglin.

The police had called on the group to apply for a permit and said they would favorably consider the demonstration if the group would coordinate its moves with the police.

"The police hopes that the organizers have learned lessons from the past demonstrations and will ask for a permit and refrain

from illegal acts," the police said in a statement.

Rabin told the cabinet that "Israel is a democratic state and therefore its citizens have the right to protest and demonstrate. However, the calls for violence and the use of violence are very grave and should be rooted out. We are witnessing threats against government workers, soldiers, and police."

He said the legal system allows the filing of complaints against policemen, and when they are filed they need to be investigated. "When a violent demonstra-

tion takes place, the police use reasonable force to break it up," Rabin said. "The violence comes from the demonstrators and not those who are enforcing the law. In these cases, it is necessary to give them full backing and not allow an incitement campaign against them."

Feiglin said Rabin is giving legitimization to the police to act violently, "as they have done in the past. The directives we have given are for people to come with their hands tied above their head, so it is clear where the violence is coming from."

"It is clear that Rabin wants to create a provocation, to lead to violence and a civil war. The public will see who is leading to civil war."

According to Feiglin, what is annoying Rabin is that protesters are taking pictures of violence at demonstrations, making posters out of them, and circulating them.

Yesterday, the organization circulated a picture of a man with a police hat, whose face is clearly visible, punching a teenager.

Feiglin said that these types of photographs will be circulated to "shame" violent policemen.

At the cabinet meeting, Police

Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz raised the issue of protesters bringing cameras to demonstrations, as well as their leaders' directives not to bring identification cards to protests, and not to allow fingerprints or photographs to be taken.

"There has never been anything like this before," Education Minister Amnon Rubinstein said after the meeting.

"We never thought to act in such a hooliganistic or contemptible fashion. The extreme right wants to question the fundamentals of Israeli democracy. This has to be stopped."

*Item contributed to this report.*

## Amman to have arms control center

DAVID MAKOVSKY

AMMAN

THE multilateral arms control and regional security working group will shortly announce the formation of a regional center here, chief Jordanian arms control negotiator Dr. Abdullah Toukan said yesterday.

The center is to disseminate educational material about arms control in the region and train officials involved in the subject.

Speaking at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy seminar, Toukan and Defense Ministry Director-General David Ivry termed the center a confidence-building measure. Toukan said that next year he expected regional centers to also be established in Tunisia and Qatar.

The idea of regional security and, in particular the formation of a body modeled on European regional security, was the main topic of Crown Prince Hassan's keynote speech on Saturday night.

Hassan said he believes it is vital for the Middle East to create structures which will bring greater stability to the region and include all of the players, including Turkey and Iran. The address was a main story in the Jordanian press yesterday morning.

Israel and Jordan are also working together on the Amman economic summit, to be held at the end of October. Senior Jordanian officials privately complain there is insufficient coordination with Israel on major infrastructure projects they had hoped would highlight the upcoming parity.

Specifically, they are disappointed with Israeli proposals for a railroad and highways that may be regional in scope, but do not further Jordanian economic development and are "only beneficial" to Israel. One official said he does not see how projects could be approved without more bilateral cooperation. He emphasized the need to cooperate fully with Israel.

The US is trying to bolster support for the upcoming conference. It has recalled both Ambassador Martin Indyk and Ambassador to Jordan Wesley Egan to speak to business groups this week and rally participation.

## Second senior Fatah man returns

JON IMMANUEL and news agencies

FOR the second time in a week, a senior Fatah activist returned from abroad to boost the role of Fatah, the power base of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Abdel Aziz Shaheen, better known as Abu Ali Shaheen, said before leaving Egypt yesterday that he was going to take part in reorganizing Arafat's Fatah faction. Shaheen was a co-founder with Arafat of the Fatah movement, but opposes the Oslo accords.

Israel deported Shaheen in 1988 for his role in leading the Palestinian uprising that began in 1987. He spent 17 years in Israeli jails. He was greeted yesterday by large crowds on his return to Gaza, where he lived after his family fled from Ramle in 1948.

The function of the reunites appears to be to draw opponents of the peace accords away from the radical opposition, and to strengthen Fatah's claim to be the umbrella organization of all Palestinians.

## Katsover: Style of Halhoul murder shows Jews didn't do it

HERB KEINON

WHILE the government and police were pointing an accusing finger at the extreme right wing for Friday morning's murder of Salaman Azamreh, Kiryat Arba Regional Council head Zvi Katsover said he does not think Jews were involved.

"I don't believe a Jew did this," Katsover said. "No Jew would be able to roam around in Halhoul for four hours, going from house to house searching for something. If Jews wanted to take vengeance, they would not have conducted searches. They would have gone in there shooting."

Katsover condemned the murder, and said if it does turn out that Jews were responsible, "we will be very angry, this is very grave."

But Baruch Marzel, former head of Kach, disagreed that it is impossible for Jews to wander around in Halhoul, saying he had done so himself.

Marzel, who said last week that attempts to partition Hebron or evict the settlers there would lead to violence that "would make ev-

eryone forget Baruch Goldstein," said he doesn't think the murder was related to the talks on Hebron but rather appears to be a case "where somebody was fast on the trigger. I don't condemn it, and I don't praise it, because that would be illegal. The government is responsible for placing the Jews in an untenable situation. It is responsible."

Itamar Ben-Gvir, a former Kach activist who has continued extreme-right activism under a number of different guises since Kach was outlawed, called the murder "a sanctification of God's name."

"It is a great act, it is forbidden to condemn it," he said.

Ben-Gvir, who by his own reckoning has 12 court cases pending and 120 complaints against him, said he "is not sure the person killed was innocent. The suicide car bombers are also often innocent victims, until they blow up the buses. Anyway, in a war, innocent people get killed. You don't think innocent Iraqis got killed when the US bombed Iraq?"

## Levy, Third Way deny forging ties

SARAH HONIG

THIRD Way leaders and MK David Levy were busy yesterday denying any budding links between them following disclosure of the meetings they held last week.

Rumors about possible cooperation or even the establishment of an electoral bloc surfaced yesterday, when it became known that Levy met Third Way chairman Yehuda Harel in Tiberias last Wednesday, and former chief of staff Dan Shomron on Thursday.

Harel and Shomron both denied that they had considered teaming up with Levy, arguing that they had merely laid out before him their group's maps of a solution to Israel's territorial problems.

Harel said the impetus for this came when Levy rejected both Labor and Likud options and came out in favor of a possible limited territorial compromise, "thereby making him somewhat akin to us. However, the basic fact is that we appeal to very different constituencies, and it is highly unlikely that we could electorally do each other any good. Any talk of a merger or a single ticket is preposterous and more than premature, especially as the Third Way has yet to declare itself officially in the running as a party."

The Third Way is expected to declare itself a party by the middle of next month. The thinking now among most Third Way activists is that they could win more support separately.

Privately it is conceded that Levy's ethnic message might frighten away potential moderate supporters, while the Third Way message might appear too sterile

and elitist to Levy's following.

But in some Third Way quarters, it is argued that the looming contest for leadership between Shomron and MK Avigdor Kahalani may drive Shomron into Levy's arms.

Shomron, however, reacted angrily to such speculation, charging that it is "a journalistic concoction and an insult. This is not the way I conduct myself, and I do not regard the Third Way as my private property. The conversation with Levy was no more than an ideological exchange and had not even an embryo of a practical arrangement in it."

Levy too denied that he is weighing any sort of union with the Third Way, though a source close to him admitted that he may adopt the Third Way maps into his own platform. This move would be a bid to pick up momentum, especially as Levy has been slipping in the polls and is likely to pick up no more than two Knesset seats, if elections were held now.

Levy sent out his activists around the country yesterday to set up stands in large cities and collect signatures on a petition to put his name on the premiership ballot. To qualify, he needs either the support of 10 MKs or 50,000 voters. Levy has no Knesset faction and has vowed to hand in a petition with 100,000 signatures.

Response to his campaign was scant, but former Likud MK Michael Kleiner said he already has more than 50,000 signatures from his development town followers.



At yesterday's meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Prisoner Release are (from left) Environment Minister Yossi Sarid, Justice Minister David Liba'i, Police Minister Moshe Shahal, and Prisons Service head Arye Bibi. The committee decided that upon signing of the next stage of the Oslo agreement, 300 prisoners would be released in two stages. (Alon Ron/Israel Sun)

## Israeli, PA businessmen meet in Gaza

RACHEL NEIMAN

THE first official meeting between the business communities of Israel and the Palestinian Authority was held yesterday, attended by PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, PA Planning Minister Nabil Shaath and representatives of the Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Palestinian Chamber of Commerce and several prominent Israeli and Palestinian businessmen.

The purpose of the meeting, said Chambers President Dan Gillerman, was to promote cooperation in order to facilitate problem solving.

Two joint committees will be set up, and will meet monthly. The first is an ad-hoc committee to solve the immediate day-to-day problems affecting leaders of the two business communities and preventing them from doing business. These include impediments such as closures, denial of entry/exit permits, lack of transportation infrastructure and difficulties in truck passage.

The second committee will be comprised jointly of the PA Economic and Industry and Trade Ministries, together with the Israeli Chambers of Commerce.

(Continued from Page 1) flag again. "We did not relate to it, and then they decided that this was not enough of a provocation, and decided to bring the flag to us. The gathered all the students and teachers and people on the street and began a parade to Beit Hadassah. We were forced to break up the demonstration," she said.

Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe said the school had been flying the Palestinian flag ever since it became legal to do so following the transfer of control over Palestinian schools to the PA a year ago.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Palestinians get six more spheres

The civil administration yesterday handed over to Palestinian control six of the eight spheres of civil authority outside Gaza and Jericho ratified for transfer by the government last month.

The six included statistics, fuel and gas, insurance, commerce and industry, labor and local government. Agriculture, scheduled to be transferred yesterday was delayed due until Thursday, acting spokesman for the government coordinator Shlomo Dror said.

Differences raised by Palestinians over control of some farmland was given as the reason by Israel TV. Postal services will be handed over in 10 days time due to the complexity of arranging the changeover, Dror said.

Jon Immanuel

### Three helicopters in near miss

Three air force CH-53 transport helicopters carrying an elite paratroop unit on a training exercise nearly collided while flying over the Negev two weeks ago, an army officer confirmed yesterday. After the near collision, OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Herzl Bodinger canceled training for the day and ordered the air force to stop all complicated maneuvers and go over the basics with pilots.

Alon Pinkas

### Soldier shot in hip

A soldier guarding the Jordan Valley moshav of Ro'i was hospitalized in Afula last night with a gun shot wound to his hip, which the IDF suspects was accidentally self-inflicted. The soldier said the shot came from passengers in a car with blue license plates. The IDF spokesman said the army is looking into the circumstances of the shooting, but it appears to be a self-inflicted.

David Elhayani, head of the Jordan Valley Settlements Committee, said the soldier claimed a car came up to the gate and honked, and he was shot when he went to see who it was. Elhayani said nobody in the moshav heard a car, but they heard two shots and then a round of automatic fire, which the soldier said he fired at the car. Some 21 cartridges were found near the moshav's gate.

Herb Keinon

## HALHOUL

He said he could only understand the settler action as part of a pattern which started with a raid last week on the Wakf building in the Old City, and the removal of the Palestinian flag there after the Islamic court was moved into the building from outside the area.

This step was taken by the PA as the first shot in a campaign to repopulate the Old City of Hebron with Palestinians. Several families have begun returning to the area, which once had 10,000 Arabs but now has only 1,000

Arabs and 450 Jews. Many Palestinians moved out of the area since 1967 due to the frequent curfews and the heavy presence of soldiers and roadblocks which discouraged business.

Hebron is one of the core issues in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Arafat said yesterday that "you can't expect 32 [Jewish] families will dominate the whole situation in the city... We are not asking for the moon."

Negotiations continued in Taba, but no significant progress is expected to be made until Foreign Minister Shimon Peres meets Arafat on Wednesday.

Herb Keinon contributed to this report.

## SWISS BANKS

(Continued from Page 1) Last summer, Swiss President Kaspar Villiger for the first time apologized for Switzerland's wartime refugee policy, which included turning back Jewish refugees at its borders.

Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg and Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, are expected to visit Switzerland next week to meet with Villiger and the Banking association.

They are expected to discuss the "hundreds of millions of dollars" deposited in Swiss bank accounts before and during World War II, said Avi Bekor, executive director of the World Jewish Congress' Israel office.

Swiss banks have been facing renewed pressure, both at home and abroad, to own up to any remaining unclaimed assets and do more to help families retrieve them. (Bloomberg)

With deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved

**LEBA FINE**

(widow of ABRAHAM FINE 57)

Wellington, New-Zealand - Tel Aviv

The funeral will take place today, Monday September 1, 1995 at 2:00 p.m. at Kiryat Shaul cemetery (meeting at the main gate).

The family.

With deep sorrow we announce the death of

**RAYMOND HELLMANN**

The funeral took place in Johannesburg on Friday, September 8, 1995.

Stephen Hellmann  
Michelle Leon and families

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## Prison feud ends in death of Palestinian

RAINE MARCUS

POLICE have solved the murder of a Palestinian prisoner who was found dead in his cell in Ashkelon prison yesterday morning.

Security prisoner Abed Rantisi, 23, of Gaza, was found by prison guards beaten to death yesterday morning. His body was transferred to the Abu Kabir Forensic Institute for an autopsy.

Rantisi was serving 15 years for the murder of a man suspected of collaborating with the Israeli authorities. He had been sharing a cell with 19 other Palestinian security prisoners, many of them serving sentences for murder.

Police and prison service officers said that signs of violence were found on his body, and an immediate investigation was launched.

After questioning some of his cellmates, three security prisoners, serving several life sentences, admitting murdering Rantisi following an ongoing feud. They bound and gagged him, they told police, and then beat him to death during the night.

Rantisi was known as a Hamas activist. In November 1993, he was arrested and tried by a military court at the Erez checkpoint for the murder of a collaborator in Gaza.

His family blamed the Prisons Service for his death, saying the authorities were aware that he was at odds with many of his cellmates, but made no attempt to segregate him. They said they will demand an inquiry into his murder.



Alisa Flatow.

## Alisa Flatow's parents set up scholarship in her name

JACOB DALLAL

THE parents of Alisa Flatow, the American student who was killed in April in a terrorist bus attack near Kfar Darom in the Gaza Strip, will inaugurate a scholarship fund today in memory of their daughter at Nishmat, the seminary in Jerusalem where she studied.

The couple sat yesterday in the study hall where their daughter learned during the first months of this year.

"You know the children really get a wonderful education here," said Stephen Flatow, a New Jersey attorney.

It is the first time the Flatows have returned to Israel since Stephen came to recover his daughter's body, after donating her organs to Israel's awaiting transplant.

Flatow recalled the last time he and his wife, Rosalyn, were together with their eldest daughter. "We were here all together for a week in January, the week of the Beit Lid bombing. There was something special about the week."

"We took a tour of Tel Maresha and on the one side we saw the green of the coast and on the other side we saw the desert. It was like we were in the Garden of Eden."

The Flatows left and Alisa, 20, who was taking time off from her studies at Brandies University, stayed on to study at Nishmat.

Her parents have now returned to the institution to dedicate a scholarship in her honor.

Since their daughter's death, the Flatows have encouraged their other children to continue with their plans to study here.

Their second daughter, Gail, 18, who was also studying in Israel last year, returned here to finish the year after Alisa's funeral.

Another sister, Francine, spent the summer here on a Bnei Akiva program.

"We got letters from people who said they were in doubt whether to send their children to Israel but decided to after we sent Gail back," Flatow said.

The Flatows acknowledged having developed an intangible link to this country which occurs when someone close is killed.

"I didn't want to get up in the morning," Flatow continues, "But then I realized that a whole country mustn't want to get up in the morning. But they have to, and they do, and they go on. And so must we."

## Olmert: No gov't help means sub-standard eastern Jerusalem

BILL HUTMAN

CONDITIONS in eastern Jerusalem will remain sub-standard because of the government's failure to invest in development there, Mayor Ehud Olmert charged yesterday.

During a discussion of the city's 1996 budget, Olmert blasted the government for failing to keep its promises of increased allocations for the city, according to sources at the meeting.

The upcoming city budget is expected to be about NIS 1.35 billion, including a NIS 30 million deficit.

"It took over a year and a half for the finance minister to even come visit our city, and when he finally came he made promises that until today we have not

heard more about," Olmert said. Improving conditions in eastern Jerusalem was one of the six priorities Olmert defined when speaking at the start of the meeting on how the upcoming city budget would be built.

But without government funding, according to Olmert, investments made by the city in Arab neighborhoods would do little to improve backward conditions there.

Opposition councilors, led by Ornan Yekutieli (Meretz) and Yisrael Shulderman (One Jerusalem), criticized Olmert for putting an emphasis on political matters and not really working to

improve living conditions in the city.

The six priorities listed by Olmert were headed by "strengthening Jerusalem's standing as a capital and united city."

Yekutieli charged Olmert with having a "purely political agenda."

"Whoever looks at the list of the mayor's priorities sees that he only cares about 'high politics' on the national level, and gives little attention to services for Jerusalem residents," Yekutieli said.

"Olmert has proven once again that he knows a lot about making big political pronouncements but nothing about serving the city,"

Shulderman said.

In addition to strengthening the city's standing as the capital and improving condition in eastern Jerusalem, other priorities listed by Olmert were: improving education, transportation and roads, tourism, and the municipality's relations with residents.

Deputy Mayor Shmuel Meir, committee chairman, warned that there would be cuts in many municipal departments in order to bring the deficit down from NIS 130 million to NIS 30 million.

"We face some difficult meetings," Meir said, before the final budget is brought before the committee and the full city council for approval later this year.

### NEWS IN BRIEF

#### Demonstrators beat Arab journalist

Khaled Zighari, a photo-journalist and frequent contributor to *The Jerusalem Post*, was badly beaten early yesterday morning by right-wing demonstrators in Jerusalem and later formally lodged a complaint with police.

A suspect is being held in connection with the attack, which occurred near Orient House, the PLO headquarters in Jerusalem, a police spokesman said.

"I arrived at the scene at about midnight. I right away I saw things were really tense," said Zighari, 24, who was released from Mokassad Hospital. "I was recognized as a Palestinian, and at first spat at, and then choked and beaten," Zighari said.

Police pushed back the attackers, and then detained one of them. *Bill Hutman*

#### Dahari freed on bail

Gil Dahari, who is suspected of planning attacks on Arabs, was freed on bail yesterday. In a deal between the prosecution and the defense, Dahari, 25, of Jerusalem, will be kept under house arrest. He surrendered his passport and posted a third-party guarantee. *Itim*

#### Man held for burning wife

An Ashdod man who poured boiling coffee on his wife was remanded for five days yesterday by Ashdod Magistrate's Court.

Police arrested the man, 33, after his wife came to the police station to complain. The man told police that his wife "had driven him so crazy that he could not control himself." He said he didn't know what he was doing. *Itim*

#### Three charged with Postal Bank robbery

Hapoel Beersheva soccer player Yaniv Yanon, 22, was indicted in Beersheva District Court yesterday for the armed robbery of a Postal Bank in the city with two accomplices, one a minor.

On August 30, two armed men entered the bank and stole NIS 4,050 from the manager and his wife. Police believe Yanon and a 16-year-old were the masked men. Yanon Hajaj, 26, was charged with driving the getaway car. All three deny the charges. *Amir Rozenblit*

#### Eight US attorneys-general here

A delegation of eight attorneys-general from the US, headed by Hubert H. Humphrey III, are visiting as the guest of the Foreign Ministry and the Israel-America Friendship League.

During their visit, which ends next Sunday, the delegation will meet with President Ezer Weizman, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Justice Minister David Libe, MKs, lawyers, judges, academics, and researchers. They will also visit Yed Vashem and the Supreme Court. The delegation will visit Jordan, where they will meet with King Hussein. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

#### Barak rejects Pollard bid for citizenship

Interior Minister Ehud Barak has decided to not use his ministerial prerogative to grant citizenship to Jonathan Pollard, serving a life sentence in the US for spying for Israel. In a statement issued last night, Barak said that according to tradition, such citizenship is granted to those who are in countries that prohibit immigration to Israel. Pollard's new attorney, meanwhile, has petitioned the High Court of Justice seeking citizenship for Pollard. The court is expected to rule in late fall. *Jerusalem Post Staff*



Former Black Panther activist Kohavi Shemesh formally signs on as a member of the Labor Party in secretary-general Nissim Zivili's Tel Aviv office yesterday. He said he was able to join Labor because of the Oslo process, and it is important to strengthen the party in advance of the completion of the process. (Yisrael Hadrin)

## Policeman uses 'E.R.' scene to deliver baby in traffic jam

THANKS to television, a traffic policeman delivered a baby to a Kfar Kasim woman near the Rosh Ha'ayin junction yesterday. He told Israel Radio that he wasn't afraid and knew what to do because he had seen births on the TV show E.R.

"I was on routine patrol on the Rosh Ha'ayin-Taiba road," said First-Sergeant Maj. Shalom Weib.

"There was a traffic jam at the Rosh Ha'ayin junction, and a taxi driver started shouting at me. He got out of the cab, and I ran over to him."

"I saw that the baby's head was already starting to emerge. The woman was a little hysterical, but I managed to help her. I pulled the baby out and wiped the mother's face."

"But I didn't know what to do with the umbilical cord. It was a boy. The father was standing alongside the cab chain-smoking."

"I radioed and asked headquarters what to do with the cord," Weib added.

"But then the ambulance came, and I turned the baby over to its crew."

Weib said he couldn't wait to tell his wife, a nurse, what he had done. (Itim)

## German study group here to learn about tolerance

Jerusalem Post Staff

A GROUP of 10 Germans who help facilitate the absorption of asylum seekers and immigrants in eastern Germany arrives today to study tolerance and pluralism in Israeli society, as guests of the B'nai B'rith World Center in Jerusalem.

The group will focus on successful initiatives undertaken in private and public institutions which seek to bridge four major fissures in society: religious/secular, Jewish/Arab, immigrant/veteran, and Ashkenazi/Sephardi.

The mission, entitled Tolerance and Pluralism: A Comparison

Study Mission in Israel, is sponsored by UNESCO - in the framework of the UN Year of Tolerance - 1995, the German Federal Ministry of Women, Youth, and Seniors, the Foreign Ministry, and the B'nai B'rith Center for Public Policy.

The mission will include visits to major institutions engaged in tolerance, pluralism, democracy, and co-existence projects in, as well as lectures by leading academics, professionals, and activists in the field. The mission will visit in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ramle, and Jerusalem.

## New technique aids some emphysema patients

JUDY SIEGEL

A TECHNIQUE similar to repairing a tire puncture is now being used here in operations to postpone or even eliminate the need for a lung transplant in ex-smokers suffering from emphysema.

A team, headed by Prof. Gideon Merin, head of the department of cardiothoracic surgery at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem, "shaved" damaged tissue from the lungs of three patients and sealed air leaks with a "patch" of processed tissue taken from the

sac covering a cow's heart.

Yesterday, a 50-year-old man from Kiryat Gat was the third to undergo the operation at Hadassah in the past three weeks.

Kramer said the technique of reducing the amount of lung tissue in the patient's chest so his breathing is more efficient was suggested long ago. But only recently, a doctor in St. Louis developed a way of sealing air leaks to make the procedure possible.

The processed cow tissue is not

rejected by the body, which eventually heals the cut lung tissue and permanently prevents leakage.

After about two weeks in the hospital, the patient undergoes intensive physiotherapy and rehabilitation and can breathe on his own, says Dr. Mordechai Kramer, a senior pulmonologist and a member of the team. The operation, which is not suitable for all emphysema patients, takes less than two hours. The first two patients, said Kramer, are already much improved.

## Christopher: Indyk didn't snub Jerusalem 3000

HILLEL KUTTLER  
WASHINGTON

SECRETARY of State Warren Christopher has told Jewish organizational leaders that the US was not making a political statement last week when Ambassador Martin Indyk missed the opening of the Jerusalem 3000 celebration.

In a letter sent late Friday to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Christopher wrote: "Let

me assure you that the level of our participation at the Knesset opening for Jerusalem 3000 was in no way intended to boycott the event."

In the three-paragraph letter, Christopher repeated the State Department's explanation last week that the US Embassy sent a

lower-level official because it understood the event to be a celebration of "the culture and history of the city," and that Indyk would be attending other events marking the 3,000th anniversary of King David's conquering Jerusalem.

Christopher's letter was in response to one from the President's Conference asking for a clarification of Indyk's absence.

**Mr. Arafat, don't touch Jerusalem, you will burn your hands!**  
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**The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption**  
**NOTICE TO NEW IMMIGRANTS**  
On Tuesday, September 12, only a skeleton staff will be available to receive the public.  
On Tuesday, September 12, the Ministry will hold an outstanding worker ceremony, and only a skeleton staff service will be available, at area and branch offices.  
Our apologies for the inconvenience caused.

## Bosnian Serbs hedge on giving up big guns

BOSNIAN Serbs are ready to lift their blockade of aid for Sarajevo and discuss a ceasefire with Moslem and Croat forces but will not withdraw siege guns under NATO bombing, a senior Russian official said yesterday.

Deputy foreign minister Igor Ivanov said after three hours of talks with Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic that the offer depended on the ending of air raids.

Ivanov met Mladic in Belgrade as NATO warplanes continued almost two weeks of punishing strikes on Bosnian Serb military targets.

UN and NATO officials have warned Mladic and Bosnian Serb political leaders that raids will last until Serb siege guns are pulled out of the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Two US aircraft carriers joined forces in the Adriatic to form "a battle force" to intensify attack Serb missile and radar defenses, some of which have undergone emergency repair after being struck earlier.

Ivanov told Itar-Tass news agency in Moscow that Mladic was ready to open aid routes into Sarajevo, guarantee its electricity, gas and water supplies and discuss reopening the city's airport.

Once air strikes were over, Mladic was prepared to enter "immediate talks with Moslem

News agencies  
SARAJEVO

and Croatian commanders on a complete and unconditional ceasefire," he added.

NATO warplanes yesterday bombed Serb targets in the Sarajevo area and around Tuzla in retaliation for Serb shelling of the northeastern "safe area."

Despite cloudy weather conditions early yesterday, airstrikes were carried out in the Sarajevo area, said Franco Veltri, a NATO spokesman in Naples, furthering efforts to force besieging rebel Serbs to pull their heavy guns from around Sarajevo.

Maj. Buster Hows, a spokesman for the UN rapid reaction force, later reported that NATO was hitting Serb targets around Tuzla, following Serb shelling of the UN-protected zone.

Hows said the Bosnian Serbs fired three artillery rounds on the UN-controlled Tuzla airbase at 12:30 p.m. followed by attacks at the rate of one shell per minute.

This prompted UN commanders on the ground to request NATO air support in order to neutralize the Serb attackers.

Ivanov said Mladic insisted the siege guns in the exclusion zone were essential for Serb self-defense.

Few if any of the disputed Serb weapons have left the zone de-

spite 12 days of intense air attacks and a claim by sources close to the Bosnian government that they had gone.

UN peacekeepers said yesterday the Serbs were moving heavy weapons deployed in the zone but saw no sign of a withdrawal. "Because no weapons have been withdrawn, (NATO) air operations continue," spokeswoman Myriam Suchaki told reporters in Sarajevo.

Although the BSA weapons are still in place and Mladic has remained defiant, his forces have not seriously tried to hit back at UN peacekeepers on the ground as they have in previous confrontations.

Political leaders have taken a milder position and Bosnian Serb "foreign minister" Aleksander Buha sounded placatory when he said international diplomacy was meeting some Serb demands and added:

"It can be said that after the bombing stops and the agreement on a lasting ceasefire is signed, we will have favorable circumstances for reaching a political solution in a very short time."

NATO said low cloud hampered its operations but Bosnian Serb media reported air raids around Banja Luka in Serb-held northern Bosnia and Han Piesak, the Bosnian Serb military headquarters 80 km north of Sarajevo.



Jordanian soldiers wave to relatives after arriving in Amman from a tour of duty as part of the UN peacekeeping force in Croatia. Jordan is pulling most of its 3,000-strong force out of Croatia. (Reuters)

## Jordan begins troop withdrawal from Croatia

AMMAN - Jordanian troops returned yesterday from UN duty in Croatia, beginning a withdrawal of all but 150 of the more than 2,000 Jordanians originally assigned to former Yugoslavia.

The first plane brought about 250 Jordanian soldiers and other flights are to continue up to September 25, military sources said.

Jordan had said there was no role left in Croatia for its large contingent.

Meanwhile, in Malaysia, thirteen Islamic nations are meeting this week to coordinate efforts to help Bosnia.

In the meeting today through Friday in Kuala Lumpur, the Organization of Islamic

Conference's contact group on Bosnia will discuss how to help develop that nation and prevent further attacks by the Serbs, Malaysian Foreign Ministry officials said.

Senior Bosnian foreign affairs and defense officials also are to attend.

The meeting originally planned to press for air strikes on the Serbs, but plans changed after recent action by NATO warplanes and the Geneva peace accord by the warring factions.

The meeting now will study various peace initiatives and possible developments in Bosnia so that the Islamic nations will be prepared to take a stand.

Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said

Saturday that although the Serb attacks had stopped, "there is no guarantee that the Serbs will not terrorize again."

Mahathir has repeatedly urged the Islamic nations to campaign to have the arms embargo lifted, saying the Bosnians had a right to defend themselves and there would be further slaughter if they were not properly armed.

The contact group comprises Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey. Also attending are Bangladesh, Indonesia and Iran - Islamic countries that have troops in Bosnia but are not in the contact group. Qatar will attend as an observer. (Agencies)

## French police grill terrorist suspects

LYON (AP) - Police continued to grill 23 people yesterday rounded up in a weekend sweep of suspected Moslem militants in the Lyon region, trying to unwind a terrorist ring behind a deadly bombing campaign.

There was no indication police were close to finding the first named suspect in France in the bombings, which began July 25 with an attack on a Paris subway that killed seven people.

The Interior Ministry offered a "substantial reward" for information leading to the arrest of Khaled Kelkal, a 34-year-old Algerian living in a Lyon suburb whom a former lawyer described as a "very nice boy."

He is wanted in connection with the Aug. 26 planting of a bomb by a high-speed train line near Lyon. The bomb, like two others, failed to detonate.

Investigators suspect that Algerian Islamic extremists may be behind the bombings, fulfilling a long-held French fear that the insurgency across the Mediterranean would eventually spill onto the soil of the former colonial ruler.

Security around the nation's schools was being reinforced ahead of classes today with steel barricades to prevent cars from parking. Cars in the new no-parking zones were being towed by the hundreds.

Thursday's car bomb at a Jewish school in a Lyon suburb that injured 14 people underscored the potential for tragedy, and sent soldiers into the cities to guard sensitive points.

It was the sixth bombing incident in six weeks. President Jacques Chirac presided over a special

meeting yesterday of ministers and police officials involved in the anti-terrorism effort. He called for a concerted effort in coordinating, evaluating and taking action, presidential aides said.

Interior Minister Jean-Louis Debré told France's newspaper *Le Journal du Dimanche* that nearly 4,500 extra police have been put on patrol, in addition to 1,800 soldiers guarding frontiers, train stations, airports and vulnerable points, like the Eiffel Tower and Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

"Terrorists want not only to kill, but to sow terror and panic," Debré was quoted as saying, adding that extra security would be in place as long as necessary.

Police in Lyon released nine of the 31 people detained Saturday in the sweep. It was not immediately known whether any of those being held provided information about Kelkal.

Kelkal's fingerprints were reportedly found on the adhesive tape connecting a detonator to the bomb planted by the high-speed train track. The bomb, made from a gas canister like five others, failed to explode.

But a former lawyer for Kelkal described him as an "intelligent ... very nice boy" with a solid family background.

Kelkal was sentenced to four years in prison in 1991 for complicity in attacks that used cars to ram storefronts, but was released early for good behavior, the French news agency Agence France-Presse quoted the lawyer, Richard Zelnati, as saying. Zelnati said he hadn't seen the youth since 1992.

## Row holds up women's conference

BEIJING (Reuters) - The world women's conference was half-way to agreeing a final declaration yesterday but a feud between the European Union and Vatican over family rights slowed negotiations.

Officials admitted that with the declaration due to be finished by Thursday, many disputes still had to be resolved between religious groups and feminists.

"I must admit there's still a lot to be done in terms of negotiating language," said Therese Gastaut, a spokeswoman for the Fourth World Conference on Women.

The thorniest issue was the Vatican stand on wording it says will roll back parental rights, belittle motherhood and undermine religious faith.

Some of the most bitter clashes in the secret negotiations were over the so-called sexual rights of non-traditional families like sin-

gle parents or same sex parents. "On sexual rights we are far from agreement," Gastaut said.

The Vatican's sharp criticism of the EU stance on the family ended a soft approach Pope John Paul's delegation had adopted for the first six days of a conference meant to chart a blueprint for equality in the next 10 years.

The controversial wording, enclosed in so-called "Holy brackets", is in the declaration's health section dealing with adolescents, couples deciding the number and spacing of children, and abortion, including a call to governments not to punish women who have an illegal abortion.

The draft drew the wrath of the Vatican, one of the most influential participants in its own right as well as through voting proxies such as Malta and Ecuador.

The Platform for Action on the negotiating table retreated from existing human rights documents that safeguarded these areas,

Vatican spokesman Joaquim Navarro-Valls said.

"At Beijing, the draft document casts marriage and the family negatively as impediments to women's self-realisation," a Vatican statement said.

Worse, he said, there were moves to replace "family" in the document with "families". The plural form is to accommodate non-traditional families including single-parent, polygamous, and same-sex families.

Navarro-Valls said the position on these issues taken by EU negotiators ran directly counter to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

EU spokeswoman Cristina Alberdi of Spain said the charges are simply incorrect and her delegation would not back down.

The Vatican had surprised many delegates in Beijing by calling a truce in the battle over language in the document concerned with contraception and abortion.

## Ceremony held at only Nazi camp on French soil

LE STRUTHOF, France (AP) - Former deportees joined dignitaries yesterday at a commemoration at the Struthof death camp, the only Nazi concentration camp on French soil.

Premier Alain Juppe led more than 2,000 people, including several hundred former deportees and Resistance fighters, gathered at the old camp in the Vosges region of eastern France. A large delegation of Norwegians was among the former deportees.

The camp was built by Nazi German occupiers in May 1941 in the Alsace region, annexed at the time by the Germans, and liberated in November 1944. The camp, 50 km from Strasbourg, held 40,000 European deportees.

An estimated 10,000-15,000 of the prisoners died at the camp, through overwork in the rose granite quarry where they were enslaved, or through torture, gassing or so-called medical experiments. Records show that 87 Jews and 80 gypsies died from inoculation or inhalation of toxic gas, typhus germs or cyanide.

Juppe laid a wreath at the foot of a sculpture portraying a skeletal body, then relit a memorial flame and heard an inter-denominational prayer.

## US fears diplomat will be kidnapped in India

NEW DELHI (AP) - The US Embassy has warned its staff in India that a terrorist group may try to kidnap a diplomat within the next week, officials said yesterday.

An embassy spokesman said he did not know which group was believed plotting a kidnapping. But he said there were "credible reports" that an attempt would

be made against a Western diplomat or an Indian government official.

Four Western tourists - an American, a German and two Britons - have been held captive by Kashmiri separatist guerrillas in Indian's northern Himalayan mountains for nearly 10 weeks. A fifth hostage, a Norwegian, was executed and beheaded four

weeks ago.

The Al-Faran group rescinded a Saturday deadline in which they had threatened to kill the other four hostages unless India frees 15 imprisoned guerrillas.

"We are extending the deadline on the appeal of the relatives of the hostages," they said.

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הגדל מן האל



**TICKET-HOLDERS** will get two Shahams for the price of one this Saturday at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem.

These, world-renowned violinists, will be accompanied on the piano by his sister Orly.

It's not a prospect that intimidates the latter, still in her early 30s. "Gil is just the guy who beat me at chess all the time," she says simply.

Not to mention the fact that this month she won the highly prestigious Gilmore Young Artists Award, which brings with it a number of concert opportunities.

"I did not even know I was up for it; they never tell you if you are eligible," she says. "They keep it all a secret, but apparently they follow you around."

## Brotherly love extends to concert hall

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Today Orly Shaham tries to combine an emerging music career with some regular academic work.

"I'm a history major at Columbia University and I also attend Juilliard. It's my last chance to do this college thing properly and I really enjoy it. It's not instead of music, but I really want to have this background."

But she does not seem inclined to let music be, as Shai did.

"He just got his PhD in molecular biology, he sticks with the practical side of life," Shaham says. She lives in New York, but misses Israel, which her family left when she was eight.

"It's a split-personality situation. Israel is a very powerful force in our life, it will never change. But home is where the rest of the family is and just now it's New York, but it's not necessarily a permanent situation."

This Saturday's program was not an easy one to devise.

"We both wanted this to be a

chamber music evening, very balanced between the piano and the violin," Shaham says.

While the choice of Beethoven and Dvorak seems natural in this respect, the Franck sonata does look a little bit out of context.

"It's used as a violin piece, but actually the piano part is one of the biggest parts for piano among violin-piano sonatas, so we'll give it a try and see how it works."

Shaham does not think of herself as an accompanist.

"I'm not the kind of pianist who is in the background," she

declares. "I don't like to be an accompanist. I want to put myself in the music."

She enjoys playing chamber music the most.

"Chamber music is a lot more fun. I love the collaboration, there's less pressure and you don't have to memorize the music," she says. "But there is also less freedom in chamber music. When I play solo, I can do whatever I want. But solo work is more taxing and tiring."

The appearance will also mark her professional debut in her native city. But it is going to be "a snappy visit. I return immediately. School just started and I don't think my professors will be happy if I miss classes at the very beginning of the year."

## Root canal of all evil

FILM REVIEW  
ADINA HOFFMAN

CAPTIVES

★★½

Directed by Angela Pope. Screenplay by Frank Deasy. Hebrew title: *Asirim*. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult.

Phillip Cheney ..... Tim Roth  
Rachel Clifford ..... Julia Ormond  
Lenny ..... Keith Allen  
Sue ..... Shoshana Redmond

A beautiful young woman starts work at a prison and soon falls passionately in love with one of the convicts. Recently divorced, she's in the mood for romantic risk-taking. Before long, however, the risks become more than emotional and she finds herself sucked inside a cyclone of lies and brutal violence.

In Hollywood's hands, such a scenario would likely assume one of two forms. It might evolve as a warm and fuzzy meditation on imprisonment and freedom, with true love and a moving symphonic soundtrack serving to spring both the hardened criminal and the beautiful young woman (who would probably be a lawyer or a psychologist with an understanding gaze and tailored but feminine clothes) from their respective literal and/or metaphorical cages.

Or else the movie would take shape as an action-packed adventure in which the beautiful young woman would help the hardened criminal to escape from jail via a series of air vents, water pipes and abandoned coal chutes. Only too late would she realize that she'd been double crossed and that her dashing though psychopathic lover planned to hold her hostage, demand a huge ransom from the government and then blow it all sky-high - him, her,



Julia Ormond is Rachel, a prison dentist who falls for one of her convict patients, Phillip, played by Tim Roth.

those millions of taxpayer dollars!

This version would climax with a daring rescue by helicopter or hydrofoil and, by the final fade-out, would probably send the beautiful young woman running into the arms of her savior, a handsome, square-jawed cop.

For better or worse, *Captives* is neither one of these movies. A dark BBC production, directed by Angela Pope from a script by Frank Deasy, the film follows the general outline (beautiful young woman falls for hardened criminal), but it's set in a London jail where cinderblock and dirty brick abound and where the pasty, unshaven faces of the inmates seem defiantly unphotogenic.

This doesn't make the movie any less predictable, though. It

just muddies the formula in question. Part American pulp thriller, part English class drama, *Captives* feels like a B-movie in search of a genre: without the fun of Hollywood escapism, nor the social resonance of English realism, the movie wanders off.

Some of Pope's nods toward British bleakness are so broad, they seem comic, the *reductio ad absurdum* of every nasty, brutish and short life ever depicted on her majesty's screen. Take the profession of the young woman, Rachel (Julia Ormond), for example: she's a prison dentist.

It's a career choice which guarantees not only that she'll be granted easy physical access to the convicts, but that we'll be subjected to numerous uncomfortable close-ups of molars being drilled, fillings being cleaned

and wisdom teeth being yanked out. (Suddenly a Ken Loach or Mike Leigh movie sounds like a barrel of laughs.)

In addition, her job provides Rachel ample opportunity to tease the convict of her dreams, Phillip (Tim Roth), by running a latex-gloved finger around the edge of his mouth.

While he's prone in the chair he can slip love notes into the pocket of her white doctor's coat, or grab hold of a sharp dental tool which might come in handy later, when the action grows more menacing.

Meanwhile, to counter the unglamorous realism of the setting, the plot progresses according to one of the oldest and thinnest of Hollywood script-writing rules. This stipulates that the action will be generated by its char-

acters' unflagging bad judgment.

In other words, not only will an exquisite young woman like Rachel smile and flirt with the horny criminals whose gums she's cleaning, she'll develop a crush on one patient, throw professional caution to the wind and agree to come see him during visiting hours, wear her hair loose for the occasion, have wild sex with him in a public bathroom, and make no attempt to hide her teary eyes whenever she sees him in the lockup.

On top of all that, she won't bother to ask him why he's in jail but will wait until the movie's half over before she conducts a micro-film research project on his criminal past - by which point we're pretty sure it's not shoplifting that put him behind bars... and so on. It's the kind of one-dumb-

move-after-another story line that strains credibility instead of drawing us in.

But something - someone, that is - does draw us in. Tim Roth and Julia Ormond are captivating here: poised, thoughtful and utterly believable in their mutual adoration, they lend the sometimes-frivolous script a surprising gravity.

No doubt about it, they're a weird couple, a wet mouse and a prima ballerina. To their credit, though, we understand the illogical tug they feel for one another.

Both young English actors have recently made it big in America - Roth in a range of character parts and Ormond as the ingenue in several historical dramas. Whatever its limitations, *Captives* shows off their ample talents well.

## Original score helps violinist to serve up a fresh chestnut

HELEN KAYE

It's hard to surprise audiences with a performance of Mendelssohn's war-horse violin concerto in E minor, but soloist Mark Peskanov may succeed anyway.

The 38-year-old Odessa-born violinist is making his local debut with the Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba this week, in a performance of what he believes is an Ur-score of the ever-popular concerto.

About 18 months ago, Peskanov says, he received a photocopy of the composer's original manuscript. "I would never pass up an opportunity to play this concerto anyway, but ever since I got hold of the composer's real intentions," Peskanov says, "it means even more to me."

Peskanov adds that "Mendelssohn worked on this one manuscript for five whole years and made many changes. And indeed, I discovered there were different things that I didn't see in any published score."

The changes, he notes, vary from minute to more obvious. "The ending of [the] second movement is definitely different and there is a different passage work at the coda of the first movement as well as certain differences in phrasing."

Peskanov has his own theory as to why what he believes to be the original version never really found its place in the concert hall.

"After the Mendelssohn concerto premiere, things were sort of corrected for one reason or another and that is how the piece was eventually published," he says. "No one seemed to bother to check the composer's real intentions."

It is a process Peskanov is very familiar with, having performed his fair share of world premieres. "Things always change during the work on a new piece," he explains. "Sometimes a composer might just be pleasing the soloist during the rehearsal without really meaning to put a certain change in the manuscript too."

Coming to Israel, 23 years after he emigrated with his family to the US from Odessa, is most meaningful to the violinist.

"Israel is special," he says. "I thought a lot about it in Odessa listening to the Voice of Israel on the radio. It's a very special place for me."

Peskanov first showed his musical inclination at the age of four. Coming home from the movies one day, he sat down in front of the family piano and played the music he heard in the score. The violin came a few years later.

His family emigrated to New York when Peskanov was 15. "At the time each had his own motive to emigrate," he recalls. "My parents wanted the kids to continue music in a better place, in Juilliard, which they believed [is] the best school in the world. They felt Jews would not be able to make it in the Moscow Conservatory. I wanted it very much. It was like a dream, to go to America. But it was always considered an impossible dream. I was ecstatic."

The transition didn't prove to be a shock. In fact, he did many things he would not dream of doing these days, like riding the subway in the wee hours. New

York is still his home, but not the same one he first arrived in. "It used to be a more cheerful place," he says. "Now, it's a very sad place."

In 1985, he was awarded both the Avery Fisher Career Grant and Carnegie Hall's first Isaac Stern Award. In 1987, he was presented with the first Frederick R. Mann Young Artists Award. Today, he performs regularly with all the leading American orchestras.

At the same time, he continues pursuing his childhood interest in popular music. "I like to write songs," he admits. "I work with a singer and I think we are ready to start to record. We have been working together for many years. These are just songs but they mean a lot to us."

He also tries to look for new and different scores to perform. In 1980, for example, he performed a violin concerto by John (Star Wars) Williams, which he says, is actually very much classical music oriented. And last year, he performed and recorded a rather neglected chamber opera, *Cabildo*, written for three musicians and six singers, by Amy Beach (1867-1944), a composer whose works are rarely performed.

Peskanov plays the Mendelssohn violin concerto tonight at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem, tomorrow in Beersheba and Saturday at the Tel Aviv Museum. Uri Mayer, the Sinfonietta's music director, is on the podium and the rest of the program features Mendelssohn's *Ruy Blas* overture and the complete music he wrote for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

## 'A' is for alternative at Acre Festival

HELEN KAYE

**L**IFE after Acre" has ceased to be an in slogan for the Acre Festival of Alternative Theater (which takes place October 9-12). Preference is now given to those who see Acre as the goal of their work and the emphasis is on "alternative."

"My appointment signifies that the festival has ceased to be a platform for the repertory theater," says Duda Ma'ayan, who recently became the artistic director.

The uncompromising Ma'ayan is also the founder and artistic director of the 11-year-old, internationally recognized Acre Theater Center, and the creator of works such as *Arbei Machi Frei*, a Holocaust memoir.

Another major change in the festival is that there will be no competition because, Ma'ayan maintains, there is no valid way of comparing the different types of alternative theater. Some 150 Acre wannabes submitted suggestions to the committee, which chose 26 in a ruthless winnowing for "the best of Israeli alternative theater."

There are 18 original commissioned productions and 10 guest productions on the roster, each of which will be performed four times - on each of the festival's four days - in and around the Old City of Acre.

The original pieces will include

performances by Acre regulars such as Neta Plotky, whose Misgav company will present *The Way to Tabur*; perennial enfant terrible Hani Hama'agel with *Underground Comics*; the Jerusalem-based Zik with a new pyro-spectacular; and Arma, the Ein Hod company, which is in charge of all of this year's street theater and will gather the crowd, the artifacts, and its own artists in a nightly parade and sort of goon show.

Dance theater is coming into its own this year with *Sleepwalking* by Nimrod Fried, set to poems by Hanoah Levine, and *Skies*, a collaboration between choreographer Rina Schenfeld and sculptor/video artist Buki Schwartz. Other interdisciplinary works include *S/ Bubblu* from Tami Raban of the fringe Shelter 209.

And, despite the lofty sentiments, there are quite a few conventional plays, such as an adaptation of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*; an (almost) female production directed by Nola Chelton of Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*; *Evening and Morning* by Y. Haim Brenner; and Slawomir Mrozek's *Room to Rent*.

The budget this year is NIS 1.15 million, a bit less than last year, but there are fewer productions, so each of the 18 festival commissioned productions got more.

Tickets this year are NIS 45.

Security has always been well organized, but this year, in the wake of Arafat, special emphasis is being placed on written procedures and there is a chief of security to coordinate it all.

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## Chirac's pertinent question

INTERVIEWED on television about the wave of Islamic terrorism in France, President Jacques Chirac said his government would never negotiate with the terrorists. They are different from us, he said. We have a morality; they do not. There is nothing to talk about. If we express readiness to negotiate, we'll be in a position of weakness.

Chirac is not the first national leader to rule out talking to terrorists. Every government has made such declarations at one time or another. But few have kept their resolve. Terrorists who have the resources to keep shooting, bombing, and killing despite the measures taken against them - which in democratic countries are always severely limited - can usually create internal pressures which most governments find irresistible. Even the British government, the most persistent in its resistance to talks with terrorists, finally succumbed and announced its willingness to negotiate with the IRA.

To rationalize such turnabouts, governments usually want proof that the terrorists are no longer terrorists. They demand that they adhere to a cease-fire, renounce violence, and discard their declared aim to destroy the existing order. Otherwise, there is truly nothing to talk about. No government can be expected to negotiate under the gun, nor discuss its own demise - let alone the destruction of its people.

Three years ago, following the principles which now guide Chirac, Yitzhak Rabin said he would never negotiate with the PLO. But such negotiations nevertheless began a few months after he became prime minister. At the time, he did not demand (as the British government did a few months later, as a precondition for talks with the IRA) that all acts of violence cease. Nor did he ask that the PLO surrender its arms (as Britain is demanding of the IRA). But he did make some relatively modest conditions for signing the Oslo agreement: that the PLO and its leader Yasser Arafat renounce and denounce violence, act against Palestinian terrorism, and change the PLO covenant which calls for the destruction of Israel.

None of these conditions has been met. The PLO and its governing arm, the Palestinian Authority, may have condemned some terrorist acts - mostly under pressure from the US, from whose treasury the PLO hopes to get large grants. But neither Arafat nor any other PLO official has condemned violence to their Palestinian constituency. On the contrary, past and current acts of terrorism against Israel are glorified and their perpetrators lionized.

More important, Arafat never extols coexistence and compromise. He never talks of a two

state solution, and he never concedes that a single inch of "Palestine," the area between the Jordan River and the sea, is no longer "Arab land" but legitimate Israel.

Palestinian children, like Palestinian soldiers in the fast-growing PA army, are taught to sing of the return of all "Palestinian lands," including Haifa, Jaffa, and Nazareth. And when Arafat refers to Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian state, he never defines it as east Jerusalem, or half Jerusalem, or Arab Jerusalem, but just Jerusalem.

There is, then, no preparation of the Palestinian public for any kind of compromise. In the two years since the signing of the Oslo agreement, Arafat has told his people - repeatedly, persistently, and with the unmistakable clarity - that the agreement is but a phase in the struggle to which the PLO has sworn fealty: the struggle for all of Palestine. No Arab listening to his speeches, with their frequent allusions to temporary peace agreements in Arab history, can mistake his words for a call for peace.

The results of this rhetoric are contained in a Peace Watch report on the eve of the second anniversary of the White House lawn handshake. The number of Israelis killed by terrorists in these two years is 73 percent higher than in the previous two years. The most dramatic increase is in casualties within the Green Line, where the number of fatalities has tripled. Most startling is that the numbers are higher than in any two-year period since the establishment of the state. And it is only due to the efficiency of the Israeli security services and the fortunate incompetence of some of the suicide bombers that the numbers are not much higher.

The meaning of Arafat's rhetoric is not lost on the Arab population within Israel. Not only do Arab Knesset members openly support all the PLO's immediate aims: Israeli withdrawal to the 1949 armistice lines, the "right of return" for descendants of Arab refugees, and the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem its capital; the Arab committee of municipal councils has passed a resolution to excommunicate, socially and religiously, any Arab who sells land to Jews. This is an echo of the PA's decision to sentence such Arabs to death, something the local Arab-Israeli councils cannot yet do.

It is no wonder, then, that most Israelis, according to a recent poll, still consider Arafat a terrorist. True, a majority nevertheless believe that Israel should continue negotiating with him. But considering his conduct in the past two years, it may be wise to heed Chirac's question: What is there to talk about?



Preparing for the premiership race

## An end to innocence

TWO years ago, on September 9, 1993, Prime Minister Rabin and Yasser Arafat became official partners in a formal exchange of letters. The Israeli government recognized the PLO as the representative of the "Palestinian people," while Arafat committed himself to peace, and to annulling the PLO Covenant.

Members of our government must have imagined it would all be very different. One has to reject the idea that they signed the horrible Oslo and Cairo agreements in the awareness that, two years later, things would be as they are. One must assume that they innocently thought the Palestinian Covenant would be immediately abolished, through an explicit resolution by the Palestinian National Council.

One must also believe that everyone in the government assumed that incitement against Israel would cease in Gaza and Jericho (first); and, of course, that they never imagined Arafat would still be the leading inciter to the murder of Jews via suicide attacks.

Clearly, no government member then had ever heard of the "Hudaybiya Agreement," that Islamic symbol Arafat uses to inform his Arab audiences that he intends to abide by the Oslo agreement only as long as he goes on receiving assets that the Jews are ready to relinquish.

It goes without saying that every government member assumed Arafat would live up to his commitment to extradite to Israel those suspected of terrorist acts (vital not only in order to punish them, but first and foremost to interrogate them and preempt others' murderous activity).

Equally, there can be no doubt that all the members of the government naively thought the "security arrangement" in Gaza and Jericho

## ZE'EV B. BEGIN

would really assure security for Israel.

The prime minister, in addition, was quite certain that Arafat would swiftly crush Hamas, "using its own methods, without resorting to the Supreme Court or to B'tselem." Certainly no government member would have signed the Oslo agreement had he been told that, two years afterwards, the number of casualties would be a staggering 780.

In short, they knew nothing - because if we assume that they did

The process is going exactly where Arafat is taking it

know, we would be pushed to an abominable conclusion.

However, such innocent failure is regarded as acceptable only once. The premier described the "Gaza-Jericho First" project as an experiment; and it has by now demonstrably failed. If he now extends the same insecurity arrangements to Judea and Samaria, he will "abandon, abandon Israel's security," to use his own words regarding the Golan.

This time he will have no excuse.

In a desperate attempt to soften the significance of the number of terror victims since the signing of the Oslo agreement, government spokespersons have been consoling themselves that the number of terrorist attacks has actually decreased.

However, they are disregarding the tragic link between abandoning Gaza and Jericho to the PLO, and the terrible increase in the power of the explosions.

Had the terrorists been using

explosives they had cooked up by mixing substances that can be freely bought in any pharmacy, the results would have been far less lethal.

However, as the man who was until recently deputy head of the GSS explained (*Yediot Aharonot*, August 25): "The [use of] standard weaponry has changed the intensity of the attacks. From 1983, the General Security Service dried up [supplies of] standard explosives in the territories, but since the agreement with the Palestinians, they have reappeared. There are tunnels in the Rafah area, and inspection in the sea by Gaza is less efficient. Now there is much more Palestinian involvement in the border crossings. The level of inspection has declined."

WHERE IS all this leading? To where Arafat is taking it: either to the implementation of the Arab "right to return" to Galilee, Wadi Ara and Ramla; or to an intensification of violence.

Our left-wingers, including the premier, believe that Arafat will content himself with the 1949 borders - but they are quite wrong.

I propose a test: In their next meeting with "President" Arafat, would those left-wingers please ask him to take a sheet of official paper and draw the borders of the State of Palestine, as he sees them.

Up till now, Arafat has cunningly refrained from drawing any such map, because he sees even the 1947 lines as only temporary. They represent the UN partition which the PLO Declaration of Independence views as an act of injustice. Palestinian Authority Publication #6 (February 1995) refers to that partition as "illegal and baseless."

Premier Rabin would do well to carry out this experiment before implementing Oslo 2.

The writer is a Likud MK.

## Bad timing

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

JERUSALEM 3000 seems to be one of the dumbest, least well thought out and most ill-timed events in the history of the state.

Many of the cultural and entertainment events will no doubt be memorable. The opening night's fireworks show was magnificent, and the Berlin opera, conducted by Daniel Barenboim at the Sultan's Pool, was something to write home about.

But fireworks aren't that uncommon in the capital, and foreign opera companies, conducted by maestros of Israeli origin, are also not that rare.

It is perfectly legitimate for the Jewish people and the state to stress Jerusalem's Jewish history and its centrality in the history and religion of the Jews. And as we approach the stage of permanent-settlement talks with the Palestinians, in which the issue of Jerusalem is certain to come up (and it will come up sooner or later, even if Benjamin Netanyahu gets elected premier) it is important that the indivisibility of the city be emphasized.

But in what way will the current celebrations serve these purposes? By placing the main emphasis on the Jewishness of Jerusalem, we are simply provoking the Arabs, Europeans and others to emphasize other aspects of the city's history, and giving them an opportunity to remind the world that, despite the greatness of King David and the glory of Jerusalem in the years of Israelite rule, the city did exist for many centuries prior to the Hebrew conquest; and it had a rich history during the many centuries - up to the middle of the 19th -

The Jerusalem 3000 celebrations are a masterpiece of ill conception

when Jews were but a small and insignificant minority in it.

Though the European Union's position vis-à-vis the celebrations - like Europe's traditional stance vis-à-vis the whole Middle East issue - isn't devoid of hypocrisy, now is a time we should be trying to attract European sympathy, not wrath.

And as for the Moslem world with which we are hesitantly seeking contacts, and scoring successes, the last thing we need is to give them an excuse to scream that Jerusalem is Islam's third holiest site, and that this is a fact the celebrations are trying to conceal.

Whether or not such claims are accurate is irrelevant; the same goes for Faisal Hussein's claim that the Jebusites - who, according to the Bible, are "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" whom "the children of Judah could not drive... out" (Joshua, 15:63) - are the forefathers of the contemporary Palestinians (which is historical nonsense).

Worse of all is that rather than emphasizing the unity of Jerusalem and its indivisibility, the celebrations are stressing the exact opposite. Since there is nothing with which the Arabs, especially the Moslems among them, can identify the celebrations emphasize the division between Jews and Arabs in the city. To most of the city's Arab inhabitants, these celebrations emphasize the cultural aspect of the Israeli occupation.

Within the city's Jewish community, the celebrations serve to highlight the schism between the religious inhabitants, whose percentage is constantly growing, and many of whom condemn the essence of the celebrations, and the secular inhabitants, who conceived the celebrations; and the schism between the Ashkenazim, who (as usual) are dominating the cultural content of the events, and the Sephardim, who constitute a majority of the city's non-haredi Jewish population.

If the celebrations were at least to draw more visitors and businessmen to the city, one might forgive the organizers for putting economic interests above social and political ones.

But what Jerusalem is short of isn't visitors or tourist attractions, but hotel rooms and an infrastructure designed to manage crowd-attracting events without causing major traffic jams and other inconveniences to its tax-paying inhabitants. A growing number of these are, in any case, escaping the capital in favor of the coastal plain.

The writer is a political scientist.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## HOSTILE MINORITY

Sir, - I refer to Dan Leon's article of August 25, "Democracy cannot be divided". The mission of Israel is to be a homeland for the Jewish people as stated in the Israeli Declaration of Independence. This country has no other reason to exist. The motto for this state is not "give me your poor, your tired, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." The champion of democratic ideals and the country responsible for disseminating these principles is the US, not Israel. That the Jewish state decided to handle its affairs in a democratic fashion and allows its Arab minority to vote and participate in its affairs does not necessitate having a full Arab voice in the decisions affecting the existence of this state.

Is it democratic/fair that an Arab should decide the future of a state for which he does not hold allegiance? Dr. Ahmed Tibi is a typical Israeli Arab Palestinian who shares my right to vote but does not share my heritage, IDF responsibility or allegiance. (Ironically, the "hostile" loyalty exhibited by Dr. Tibi would have resulted in the rejection of his host citizenship in any other country including the US). Should he and his kindfolk have a deciding voice in whether or not his people or ours will have water, the Golan, or a war? Does Mr. Leon deny that were Israel to be overrun, it is the Jews (including Mr. Leon) and not the Israeli Arabs who would be interned, killed or otherwise disposed of? Is it fair or for that matter democratic that people who do not serve in the IDF be allowed to dictate to those who do whether or not they will be risking their lives on any of Israel's borders?

Israel is a Jewish homeland which handles its affairs in a democratic manner. When the responsibilities of this democracy are incumbent upon all, then its rights can be shared by all. Until that time, Mr. Leon must understand that existentialist questions cannot and should not be decided by representatives of hostile minorities.

MORRIS LASTER, M.D.

Jerusalem.

## SHAME!

Sir, - In all the years I have been visiting Israel, the consistent factor which has been a mainstay is the pride which is felt in everything that is Israeli. The one area which presents a yawning void is classical music. Now, from time immemorial, Jews have been music makers. But when in Israel, do composers suddenly lose their ability to compose? This would seem the case if you go into any record store in Israel.

Each year that I visit, I make a point of buying records of Israeli music recorded in Israel. This year, I have found this more difficult to do than if I were in London or New York. The prestigious Tower Records stores, both in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, have many recordings by antisemitic composers, Nazi conductors, but not one recording made by any Israeli composer! I went to the Israeli Music Publishers in Jerusalem and they had six very old recordings and only three new ones. Israel is a nation of music makers. Composers like Odedo Parnas, Paul Ben-Haim, Joseph Tal, Mordechai Seter, Noam Sheriff are internationally honored - except in their own nation.

EDWARD B. EISEN

Givat Ze'ev.

## POLITICAL STAND

Sir, - I have been a reader and subscriber to *The Jerusalem Post* for the last 25 years. Unfortunately, your paper is getting more and more right-wing instead of being neutral and only informative about our political, social and economic life.

In particular, I am referring to your op-ed article of August 23, "Nails in democracy's coffin," and its footnote to the effect that the views of its author, a member of your editorial staff, are not necessarily those of the paper. I have never read such a footnote before even in cases of much more extreme views.

MAX TAMARI

Bar Yam.  
The disclaimer, instituted a few weeks ago, applies to all opinion articles by members of the *Post* editorial staff regardless of their views.  
- Ed. J.P.

## THE POLLARD CASE

Sir, - Alan Silber's letter of August 3 regarding Jonathan Pollard displays strong emotion but minimal knowledge. His use of the term "traitor" twice shows that he misses the difference between aiding an ally or an enemy. And the life sentence received was quite disproportionate to those given to the people who spied for an ally and even some who spied for an enemy.

The idea that being granted Israeli citizenship would solve the problem is not held by Carol or Morris Pollard or their advisers or supporters. Nearly 10 years after Pollard's arrest, no one has yet come forward with a single credible example of actual damage caused to the US, let alone one that would justify a life sentence.

The suggestion that Pollard displayed utter arrogance in presuming to decide US foreign policy also shows lack of knowledge. Passing information of significance for Israel's defense according with 1983 stated US government policy, and Pollard only found himself in this dilemma which led to his breaking the law because of the secret agenda of Caspar Weinberger, Bobby Ray Inman etc. to frustrate stated US government policy, following Israel's destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981.

Pollard was solely motivated out of concern for the safety of Israel and its inhabitants; and the suggestion that Israel had suborned Pollard was belied by the fact that for five months, Jonathan faced arrest for what he was doing without any request for or expectation of any payment.

Pollard has been "buried alive" in federal prisons under a ton of unfounded exaggerated accusations for reasons that have nothing to do with his crime and everything to do with politics. Antisemites do not require facts or performance on which to base their slurs. These members of the Jewish community who have vilified Pollard, including those "leaders" of the American Jewish community - who have been so backward in coming forward on this injustice - have a lot to answer for.  
LIONEL OKUN  
Seal Beach, California.

## The dirty war for peace

IN early August, I was approached by a representative of the New York Board of Rabbis to join a mission to Israel to discuss the peace process with government leaders. Although I initially declined the invitation, I agreed to go when I was assured that I would be able to express my views and the views of those close to me on the peace process, and the grave misgivings so many have expressed regarding Israel's security.

The rabbis chosen for the mission represented organizations and movements which had definite positions, and welcomed the opportunity to convey a message. The rabbis reflected diverse, even antagonistic, political views from right to left, yet were determined to demonstrate a united front on a host of serious concerns which required clarification.

Many of us were shocked to discover that both prior to and during our visit to Israel, information was released to the Israeli media suggesting that the mission was a unilateral, unqualified endorsement of the peace process. It became painfully obvious to us from the news reports that the genuine purpose of the mission had been skewed. For some of us, there was the hurtful realization that the mission was contrived with a hidden agenda manipulated by officials and the media to create an impression which distorted fact, sentiment and opinion to conform to a specific political agenda.

Betraying the aim and opinions of the mission participants, words were twisted, TV interviews

## JACOBS RUBENSTEIN

clipped, requests for meetings ignored and information suppressed.

WE WERE not on this mission to promote any particular government position, or suggest that the US rabbinate unilaterally supports the peace process. We came not to condemn or censure, but to express our deep concern over the growing terrorism and insecurity, the despair and disenchantment,

The rabbis' mission to Israel had a hidden agenda, manipulated by officials and the media

the anger and the angst that the peace process has generated in America and Israel.

We wondered why there was fear and confusion when there should be euphoria, and urged greater dialogue with the people of Israel, to assuage their fears. When fatal decisions must be made, popular consensus is needed. We spoke of the need to guard the democratic process.

We spoke strongly of the right to civil dissent and civil disobedience, and of the need for a more restrained response, in word and deed. We expressed our grave concern over police brutality, noting that it insults the ethical sensibilities of Jews and non-Jews. We specifically referred to the treat-

ment of our colleague Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, and to the police beatings and horse trampling of demonstrators at the Russian Compound.

We urged restraint over the vilification of demonstrators and the sweeping denunciation of settlers who, at great danger and sacrifice, built settlements at the behest of the government. Inflammatory attacks by the media and government officials are irresponsible and destructive.

We reiterated our grave concern for the security of Israel and its citizens, especially the settlers, whose lives are in danger.

A combination of PLO noncompliance with the Declaration of Principles and Yasser Arafat's ongoing destructive speeches give us great concern, and must be taken note of in the peace talks. Israel has made tremendous efforts, significant concessions and risky decisions which demand absolute compliance before the process continues.

We pointed out that PLO failure to comply with the Oslo agreement and extradite those who commit acts of terror against Israelis raises further doubt over Arafat's sincerity and willingness to comply with the agreement.

That none of these sentiments was reported in the Israeli press gives me reason to believe that the Israeli public, as well as world Jewry, was duped in the dirty war for peace.

The writer, Rabbi of The Young Israel of Scarsdale, was a member of the New York Board of Rabbis Mission to Israel.

הקדמת האל





## The World

# Japan Catches Up In Bank Failures

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

**T**HOSE who despair that America's economy has surrendered its leadership to Japan can take heart. In at least one big area, Japan is scrupulously imitating one of the landmark American business events of the 1980's: banking disasters.

Nearly five years after Washington came to grips with the full horror of the \$500 billion savings-and-loan collapse, Japanese banks and thrifts are following suit as precisely as if executives had studied a how-to manual by Charles Keating Jr.

In Japan as in the United States, the biggest culprits are thrift institutions that were originally conceived to promote the conservative goals of saving and home ownership. In both countries, these institutions became go-go banks that attracted large sums by paying high interest rates. And then, in Japan as in the United States, they used these deposits to underwrite dubious shopping malls, vacation resorts and office complexes.

In both countries, government ultimately contributed to the problem by helping hedge the risks through low-priced deposit insurance. Government-backed deposit insurance guarantees that bank or credit union customers will be kept whole, even if a financial institution goes bankrupt. But the American savings-and-loan crisis overwhelmed the industry's insurance fund in the 1980's, and now Japan has temporarily wiped out its own insurance fund with the two recent bailouts.

No one yet knows the full scale of the problem here, but it is Texas-sized at a minimum. Two weeks ago, the Ministry of Finance shut down Kizu Credit Cooperative, the nation's biggest credit union, and a large regional bank; between them, they had roughly \$16 billion in uncollectable loans. And those were only a tiny fraction of the total problem: Government officials estimate that Japan's financial institutions have about \$400 billion in problem loans, and other analysts suspect the real total is much higher. Even by conservative estimates, the loans now in arrears roughly equal the estimated capital of the country's banks and other financial institutions.

### Prolonging Recession

No one thinks Japan's financial system is about to collapse, but the problems are enough to delay the country's recovery from recession, and a few of the biggest banks could be hurt badly.

What is most striking, however, is how similar this



Finance Minister Masayoshi Takemura.

debacle is to America's savings-and-loan crisis.

The Osaka-based Kizu Credit Cooperative could have come straight from the S&L textbook. It was chartered as an employee credit union and was innocuous until the late 1980's. But then Japan's high real estate prices began to soar to astronomical levels as economic expansion left too much money chasing too few domestic investments.

Meanwhile, the Government decided to give credit unions a break, and let them offer whatever interest rates they wanted. It was a bow to deregulation, somewhat like what occurred in the United States when Congress began letting savings-and-loan institutions invest more freely in order to compete with banks.

Kizu, much like Charles Keating's Lincoln Savings and Loan, began to grow at a blistering pace. It offered top interest rates on big time-deposits, much as Lincoln had attracted money through certificates of deposit. (Lincoln financed splashy resorts with such high-interest securities before the enterprise collapsed; eventually, Mr. Keating was convicted of fraud.)

Kizu's deposits mushroomed between 1988 and 1993, from about \$2.2 billion to \$12 billion. Its volume of real estate lending climbed at roughly the same rate.



The Kizu Credit Cooperative tries to calm depositors seeking to withdraw money in Osaka Aug. 30.

But Japan's economy began to stall in the early 1990's. Annual growth slowed to about one percent and real estate prices collapsed. Today, property prices in many areas are less than half what they were; thus, a great many doubtful loans have become uncollectable.

One more similarity between the Japanese and American crises seems likely to emerge: cronyism. The American crisis was replete with cases of self-dealing, in which thrift executives siphoned off money in bonuses and lent to projects sponsored by close friends. In Japan, the Government recently raised alarms about the fact that executives at nearly half the nation's credit unions had outside business interests.

### Why They Slept

In hindsight, the dangers were obvious. But why didn't Japanese regulators and bank executives wake up earlier, particularly given the highly publicized American problems? "Objectively speaking, the situations were the same," said Toru Nakakita, professor of economics at Toyo University. But, he said, Japanese experts did not really understand that financial deregulation would inevitably create both losers and winners. "In Japan, there was this myth that banks never go bankrupt," Professor Nakakita said. "The managers believed that as long as they took the same steps as all the others, they would never go bankrupt."

After remaining quiet for months as signs of trouble became steadily more acute, the Ministry of Finance and Japan's central bank took their first concrete actions by shutting down Kizu and liquidating the Hyogo Bank, based in Kobe.

## The lessons of America's S.&L. scandal seem to have gone unheeded.

The Government is now trying to deal with the problem in a classic Japanese attempt at collaboration. Instead of simply bailing out the bad loans with massive amounts of public money, as the United States finally did, Government officials here are leaning on Japan's biggest banks to put up most of the necessary capital. But the big banks are balking, and they have their own problem loans to worry about.

Regardless of who supplies the money, the amount needed will almost certainly make it harder for Japan to bounce back from its recession. That would be bad news for other countries, because it means Japan is less likely to import foreign products or to invest overseas.

But the banking crisis also rebuts the popular wisdom that Japan can somehow defy the laws of economics and of human sense. It turns out that Japanese, like Americans, have been able to fall victim to the same timeless traps: the lure of quick profits and the false certainty that what was true yesterday will be true tomorrow.

Maybe someone else can learn that lesson for the future.

## Colonialism's Last Gasp

# Detonation in the French Pacific

By PHILIP SHENON

**W**ITH the flip of a switch on a tiny white-sand atoll close to nowhere, France may have managed to guarantee the end of centuries of Western colonialism in the Pacific.

What began in the 1520's when Magellan bravely crossed an uncharted ocean to discover Guam and the Philippines for the Spanish crown could well be drawing to an ugly close because of the determination of a newly elected French President to defy world opinion and test nuclear weapons in the pristine waters of Polynesia.

The first of the tests touched off riots last week in Tahiti, the largest of the islands of French Polynesia and a destination that tends to conjure images of a palm-fringed paradise. The image last week was of gutted buildings and terrified foreign tourists trapped in the crossfire of rocks and tear-gas canisters between Tahitian demonstrators and French riot police, with the outside world suddenly aware that many Polynesians want the independence already achieved by virtually all of their neighbors in the Pacific.

### 'Had Enough'

Independence may still be years in coming for the 200,000 people of French Polynesia — the leading pro-independence party has never come close to taking power in local elections — but the uproar here over the resumption of French nuclear tests at Mururoa Atoll, about 750 miles southeast of Tahiti, and the resulting melee in the streets of Papeete could certainly hasten the process.

"The Polynesian people have been pacifists and calm for many years," said Nelson Ortas, a leader of the independence movement. "And we've had enough of it."

The global outrage over the French tests has reminded other Pacific nations why they sought independence in the first place, creating a new sense of pride and solidarity among island lands that until recently thought they had little in common.

Led by Australia and New Zealand, the nations of the South Pacific have been unanimous in condemning the decision by President Jacques Chirac of France to lift a three-year-old moratorium and resume nuclear testing here.

Pacific leaders have framed their condemnation of France in anti-imperialist tones, with Australia and New Zealand making clear that they see their future as nations of the Pacific, not of the West. Prime Minister Jim Bolger of New Zealand called



France's nuclear testing touched off riots in Tahiti.

the resumption of testing "the arrogant action of a European colonial power."

Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia has led the campaign to remove the last vestiges of British colonialism there and oust Queen Elizabeth II as Australia's head of state. He has described the French nuclear testing as "an act of stupidity."

Fairly or not, the French possessions in the Pacific — French Polynesia, New Caledonia and the tiny Wallis and Futuna Islands — have long been seen by their Pacific neighbors as an anachronism, an expensive vanity of a once-great imperial power.

In the 1800's, France and other powers grabbed Pacific islands to take advantage of their natural riches, or as projections of

military power. French gunboats arrived in Tahiti in the 1830's, and the island became a full French colony after a crafty colonial governor persuaded a drunken Polynesian king to give up the island for a 5,000-franc-a-month pension.

But today, apart from its availability as a military test site and nuclear dumping ground, Polynesia has no strategic advantage for France. And far from milking Polynesia for its riches, France last year had to pour in nearly \$1.5 billion to underwrite the islands' economy, a subsidy that has provided Polynesians with a standard of living that is the envy of other Pacific Islanders.

The subsidies have probably bought time for the French in Polynesia, with many Polynesians aware that their relative prosperity might evaporate without the French presence. But French largesse has never satisfied the indigenous population on the islands of New Caledonia, a much larger and economically far more important colony for France because of its huge deposits of minerals, including nearly half of the world's deposits of nickel.

The native Kanaks have long sought independence, claiming that they are not receiving a fair share of New Caledonia's riches. In 1988, dozens of people were killed in clashes between Kanak rebels and French commandos. The violence led France to agree to grant limited self-government for New Caledonia until 1998, when the French have promised a referendum on independence.

### Postwar Decline

The decline of Western colonization of the Pacific began in earnest after World War II. In the 1960's and 1970's, Britain, Australia and New Zealand began to dismantle their colonial empires, granting independence to Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Tonga and hundreds of other islands.

The United States absorbed Hawaii as a state and granted self-determination to the people of Micronesia. Although nominally a territory of the United States, American Samoa is self-governing. Apart from Polynesia and the French possessions, the only true colonies left in the Pacific are Pitcairn Island — a British colony with fewer than 100 residents, most of them the descendants of the mutineers of the H.M.S. Bounty and their Tahitian wives — and Easter Island, a colony of Chile.

Chile and France engaged in an angry dispute a few years ago after a Tahitian postage stamp showed Easter Island as part of French Polynesia. After the violence last week, Chile probably has little to fear from the French, who seem destined not to expand their colonial empire, but shrink it.

# The Second Sex in The Third World

Continued from page 1

having her body stuffed into a restaurant's tandoor oven, prompting demonstrations of outraged women. And their involvement doesn't stop with protest. Women often find themselves wading into police and court procedures, civil rights law and media work. Knowing that for many women there is no economic alternative but to remain in abusive homes, women's groups are also trying to promote self-help vocational projects and low-cost housing for the victims of domestic violence.

In the last few years, a bold new idea has caught on — that women are the key to development. As a result, the women's movements in developing countries have picked up powerful allies from independent women's groups in Europe and the United States, from government aid agencies and from the World Bank. The thinking now is that the poorest nations will never grow out of poverty unless women become a more active part of civil society. Without this, a country can forget population control, the eradication of epidemic diseases and even the conservation of its natural resources.

"No country can develop if half its hu-

## Poor women turn out to be surprisingly good investments everywhere.

man resources are devalued or repressed," Madeleine K. Albright, the chief American representative at the United Nations told an audience in Beijing.

The World Bank, the primary lender to poor nations and an organization that has had plenty of opportunities to see why traditional aid does not always work, is busily planning new loans for women. Bank officials say that in the last decade, the percentage of the institution's portfolio devoted to what they call "gender concerns" has risen from 10 percent to more than a third. Of the \$3.5 billion set aside for improving the status of women, the Bank says, \$200 million is going into a new micro-credit program to provide tiny loans to women without collateral.

Poor women are surprisingly good investments everywhere, says Nancy Barry, the president of Women's World Banking, a 16-year-old nonprofit institution with affiliates in 40 developing countries. Bangladesh's Grameen Bank, now the model for small-scale credit, lent women \$400 million in 1994 — including some loans as small as \$1 — and 97 percent of them were paid back.

"Women don't need charity; they need access," Ms. Barry said. And once they have it, they willingly trade information across national lines. Women in one country find out through personal networks and electronic communication which economic projects work in another country, and then they copy them. "What works in Uganda will influence the Dominican Republic," Ms. Barry said.

### No Grandiose Schemes

All around the world, women are practical and realistic in their requests, rarely proposing grandiose schemes. In the southern Indian state of Karnataka, a leading politician said: "If you ask the village people what they want, they won't ask for a medical college. They want bee hives or market stalls or a pump."

"Women of Africa know what they want," Mrs. Mongella said in interview. "We don't need a prescription. We just need support to implement what we want to do." In African families, she said, there is a feeling that the policies dictated by international institutions have not so much trickled down as fallen on their heads. Something that looks good as a national policy can be devastating for a village.

An unexpected reversal has now begun. The vitality and immediacy of the women's movement in the southern half of the world is now catching on in the northern half. Americans working in inner-city organizations and rural self-help projects in poor regions of the United States are beginning to see how much work can be done with very little money. They are studying successful immunization programs and self-help projects jump-started by small loans for would-be businesswomen.

American women are also learning how much farther the women in poor nations still have to go, said Barbara Arnwine, the executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. "American women do not realize that our sisters throughout the world do not have the kinds of enforceable rights that we have, that they do not have the ability to go to court and to say, 'I have been denied a job,'" Ms. Arnwine said. "They do not have the right to say, 'I have been denied housing because I have children.'" We hear stories of women being driven out of business in India, in Africa. Many women in the world, even in family courts, don't have the rights of men in custody cases."

What women of the developing world do share with women in developed nations, though, is a revulsion against violence, said Ms. Mongella. Civil wars in Africa, Asia and also in the Balkans have made millions of women refugees or victims of genocide and rape. "What benefit does the gun hold for the women?" asked Ms. Mongella. No woman needs a gun. But give her a hoe or a water pump, "and she will make a change."

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# The Nation

## Why Liberalism Isn't Allowed to Die

By MICHAEL WINES

**Y**OU probably think liberalism died up and blew away years ago. There was George McGovern, but Richard Nixon clobbered him. Then Spiro Agnew worked liberals over really good, before he quit. Then Ronald Reagan, in '84, had Walter Mondale for lunch. Michael S. Dukakis, he actually said "I'm a liberal" — this was on television — and even though he added right away that he was a Truman or Kennedy-type liberal and not some dope-smoking bomb-thrower who took over Berkeley, he got clobbered worse than McGovern.

Bill Clinton ran against liberalism, and is still in the doghouse for being too liberal. Hubert Humphrey is dead.

You probably think liberalism is, too. Boy, are you wrong. It is living the good life in, get this, the hearts and minds of conservatives.

This may seem strange, because conservatives were kind of like the big comet that wiped out the liberal dinosaurs in the elections last fall. But try to find a conservative this summer, especially one looking for a bigger job, who isn't reading "Jurassic Park" over a bullhorn and warning that liberals have been cloned and are scaring the living daylight out of people.

Look at Senator Bob Dole, the candidate for President, from Kansas. Last Monday, he told the American Legion that the "liberal academic elite" is wrecking American culture by letting schools teach immigrant kids in their own languages instead of English and by rewriting history books to "glorify other cultures" and wage "war on traditional American values."

"The keys to our unity are under attack from our Government and from intellectual elites who seem embarrassed by America," he said. "What we see as opportunity, they see as oppression. Where we see a proud past, they see a legacy of shame. What we hold as moral truth, they call intolerance."

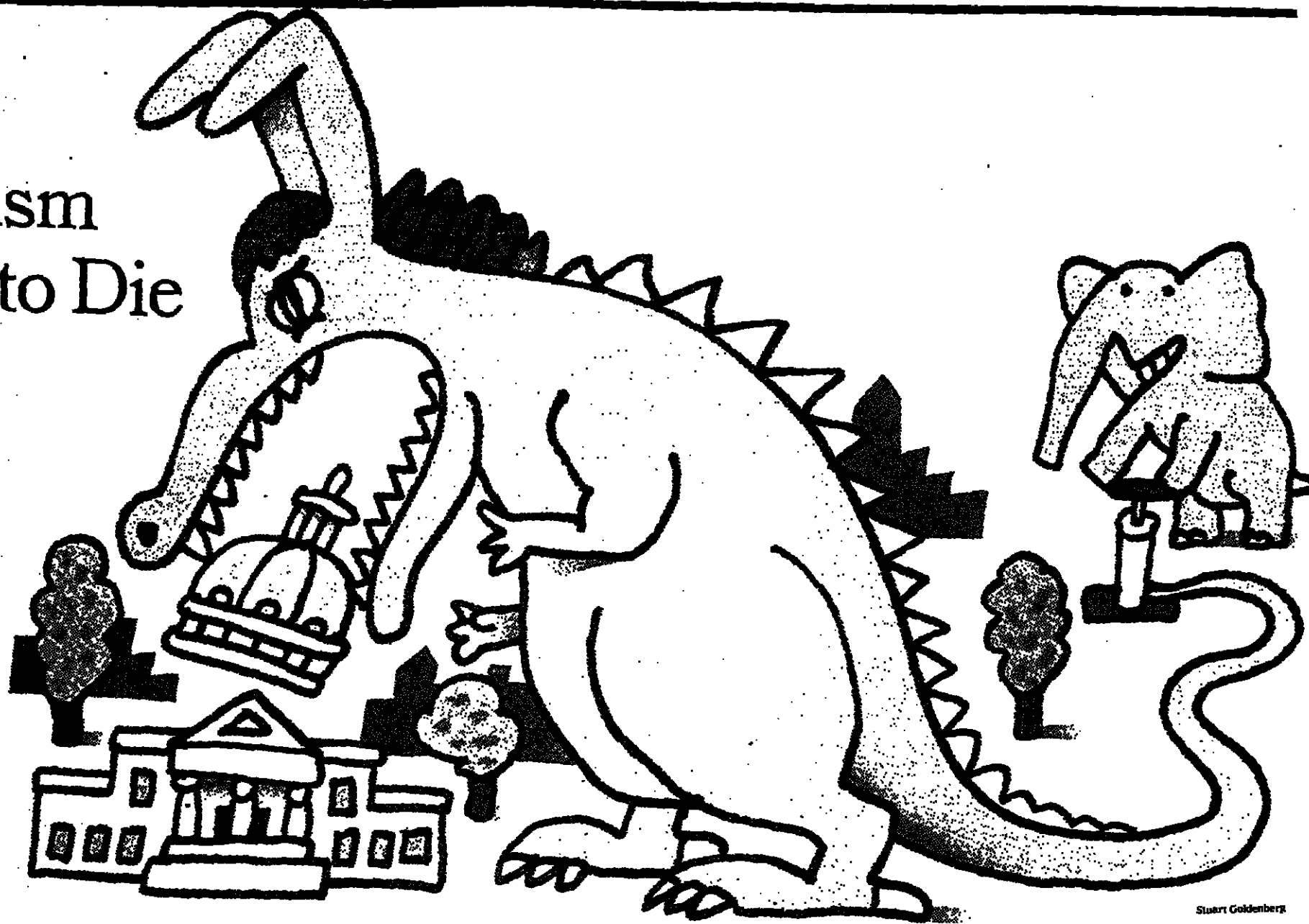
This was pretty rough stuff, but Mr. Dole is still

For a revolution, both parties need something revolting to point to.

new at this. Newt Gingrich, who was conservative before conservative was cool, socked liberals nine times in one speech to Republicans this summer, including a poke at "liberal goo-gooism."

This month Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, who wants to be President, called Mr. Clinton "the last President of the liberal era." This even though Mr. Clinton had just showed that he was not, either, by telling a story about how liberals used to think people on welfare shouldn't have to work — hah! — "but now almost nobody does." Think that, he meant.

Republicans even use the L-word against other Republicans. Pete Wilson, the California Governor, said last week that Mr. Dole shouldn't be President because he makes "concessions to Senate liberals." So Mr. Dole unloaded on Mr. Wilson and called him "one of the most liberal Republicans ever to seek national office." And Lamar Alexander, trading Mr. Wilson in the White



Stuart Goldenberg

House race, through one of his campaign gofers, called him "a big-taxed, big-spending liberal Republican."

Anyway, you get the idea. Mr. Reagan attacked tax-and-spend liberals and turned politics upside-down doing it, but, to be fair, there were a lot more liberals around then. Now liberals are scarce as chicken lips, but conservatives sound like Reagan cubed.

Hard to figure, on the face of things. But here are a few theories as to why both political parties think this all may make perfect sense.

**Liberals are still in charge.** Conservatives may hold more seats in Congress and sell more books. But the big Federal bureaucracy that liberals built is still there, and until it is blown up, the job isn't done. This is why Mr. Dole warned that anything the Government touches is "ripe for infection."

In this view, modern politics is like the old movie "Alien," where the conservatives are Sigourney Weaver, trying to run a tight spaceship, but the crew — they're the voters, see — is in danger of being taken over by these snake-like creatures that have been hiding in the ceiling all along.

You do not have to believe liberals are snake-like to see that conservatives believe Government is the last stronghold of liberalism and its legacy. And many voters agree, even though they don't want to give up the liberal Medicare and welfare and retirement benefits that are most of Government's business these days.

### Sleeping Bears

"In every post-election poll since 1968, the major grievance people have about the Democratic Party is that they see it as a top-down, big bureaucratic entity," said Ted Van Dyk, a Democratic strategist who was a Humphrey adviser. "We're all seen as little Lyndon

Johnsons, the people who passed out all the stuff that has to be revised because it got out of control."

Conservatives need a good enemy. It is tough to run a revolution without something revolting around to overturn, says Ken Kashigian, a California Republican strategist. The liberal threat is an insecurity blanket.

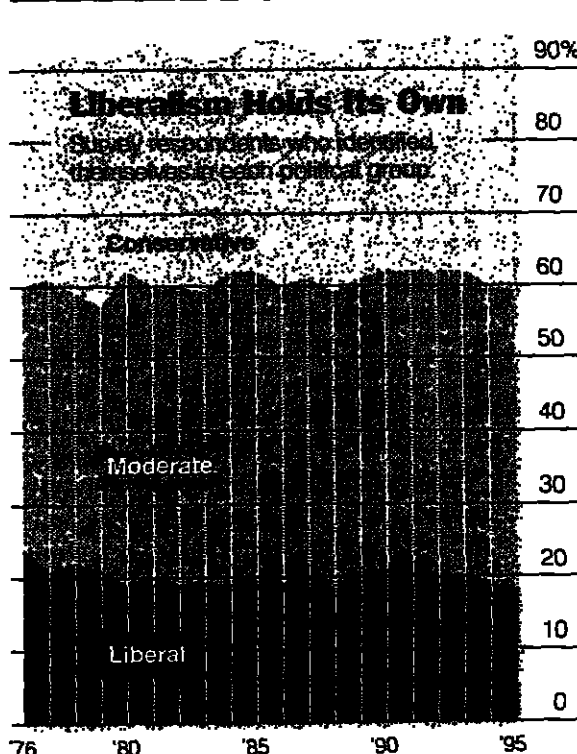
"Republicans aren't so used to controlling Congressional committees and the agenda, and I think part of this is that they're afraid all of this is going to be suddenly taken away," he said.

This doesn't mean that the liberal threat does not exist. Mr. Kashigian said that it does, likening it to a big bear hibernating in the woods, not snakes in a spaceship. "The bear may not be lurking around in February," he said. "But he's hiding. He's waiting for the spring thaw."

This is politics, dummy. Maybe the liberal threat is snakes, or maybe it is a bear. Or maybe it is a Hollywood dinosaur, trotted out to give everybody a few safe goosebumps before being hauled backstage for another few years. Whatever, to win primaries a candidate has to appeal to party diehards, who actually care enough to vote. And most diehards care because they are at war against some alien ideology.

"When you're talking to Republican primary voters, you're talking to Republican activists, and Republican activists have had it with liberalism. When you talk to them, you have to light their fire," said Peggy Noonan, Mr. Reagan's speechwriter. "Just as you're for motherhood and apple pie, it's important to remember that we are united against liberalism. Even though there are no liberals anymore."

Oh, one other thing. It worked for the Democrats. "We ran against Herbert Hoover for 50 years," Mr. Van Dyk said. "Some guys are still running against Hoover."



Based on 188 polls by The New York Times and CBS News that have been pooled for each year. A total of 275,195 adults were interviewed by telephone from February 1976 through August 1995. Those people with no response are not shown.

## A Running Man Turns To Golf

By ALISON MITCHELL

**J**OHN KENNEDY, Gerald Ford and George Bush all enjoyed their moments on a putting green. But perhaps not since that unabashed duffer Dwight D. Eisenhower has there been such a golfing President as Bill Clinton.

By the end of his three-week vacation last week, Mr. Clinton had logged more than 70 hours on the greens, including several sandwiches between the commemoration of World War II in Hawaii and budget politicking in California. Between two days of appearances in Monterey and Fresno, he lived along the seaside links of Pebble Beach.

Hillary Rodham Clinton seemed conflicted about Mr. Clinton's addiction. For his 49th birthday, she indulged him with a surprise present: Johnny Miller, the golf pro, to round out a foursome.

But on the Clintons' last evening vacation in Wyoming, the First Lady sounded a tad like a golf widow. At a ceremony at the Jackson Hole Golf and Tennis Club, Mrs. Clinton called it appropriate "to end as we are tonight, on this sacred spot on a putting green." Mr. Clinton, reddening, said with a grin, "That's the last time I'm going to introduce you."

### Transported Indeed

But Mrs. Clinton sailed on serenely. "Thankfully, we were able to be here in a place that inspired me," she said, "and that led me to be transported into the realm of golf, which, you know, I've tried mightily to achieve but never in fact have done so."

As far back as college, Mr. Clinton was known as a middling hacker (he usually shoots in the mid-80's). And when he became President, he avoided Camp David because he couldn't find nearby links.

Erskine B. Bowles, a deputy chief of staff and frequent golf partner of Mr. Clinton's,



Associated Press

More fun than Camp David: Clinton at the Jackson Hole Golf and Tennis Club.

said practicing putts helps the President concentrate. "The President will go out there by himself and just think and reflect and organize his thoughts," he said.

At the White House, where the Eisenhower putting green next to the Rose Garden was recently renovated, aides have become accustomed to seeing Mr. Clinton on the South Lawn taking chip shots toward the putting green. One summer afternoon, members of the National Security Council followed him out to the putting green to finish a discussion of Bosnia.

Like all things involving the leader of the free world, even a round of golf is not so simple, even though no one is likely to object to the President's habit of taking mulligans. And so elaborate rituals have evolved for his golfing excursions.

The military aide to the President can sometimes be seen depositing the case that contains the nuclear codes in a golf cart to follow Mr. Clinton from tee to tee. Secret Service agents, casually dressed but unmistakable in their earpieces, stalk the greens. Journalists sometimes get transported in an absurd-looking golf cart motorcade. Luckily for a nation that has had to adjust to seeing the President in jogging shorts, he doesn't

favor plus fours.

Of course, the sporting life of the President is always replete with symbolism. President Eisenhower's golf obsession portrayed him, at least to his critics, as a member of the complacent bourgeoisie. John F. Kennedy's windswept sails captured the dashing spirit of the New Frontier. Ronald Reagan on horseback looked the formidable American hero, like John Wayne. And George Bush's frenetic schedule of athletics served only to burnish the patrician image he wanted to erase.

### A Regular Guy

So it was that Mr. Clinton's jogging seemed emblematic of the "I-can-live-for-ever" confidence of the baby boomers. But he has been running less recently because of his allergies. And with an election approaching, maybe his passion for golf will make him look like more of a regular guy.

"Golf is the typical suburban game," said Hank Morris, a Democratic political consultant. "Those are the swing voters, not just because they swing a golf club but because they swing back and forth and decide elections."

## The Senate, Proud To Be Embarrassed

Continued from page 1

handsome he looked one day after experimenting with blow-drying his sparse comb-over, offers a glimpse of human vainglory as much as a commentary on Senatorial hypocrisy. Much of it reads as trite self-delusion, with some genuinely confessional moments. "I was scared to death," he admitted in his diary as the Ethics Committee began subpoenaing his personal records and the diary itself. Ironically, the undocored version shows that this crisis was met first by the Senator's respected chief of staff, Elaine Franklin. Yet in the altered entry, concocted to mislead the Ethics Committee, the Senator couldn't resist portraying himself as the gallant male: "This was one of those situations where I had to be the strong person and she had to rely on me."

Beyond some pity and much anger at Mr. Packwood's Nixonian attempts to stay in office, Senators are fearful that the public will generalize about the Senate from the Oregon Republican's cavalier abuse of women and the public trust. Two Senators honoring old friendships with Senator Packwood stood up in tributes laced with denunciations of the "just-don't-get-it" test of Senatorial office.

"I have heard all of that guff before," snapped Senator Alan K. Simpson, a Republican from Wyoming, in contending that "our brother from Oregon" was victimized by a news media "feeding frenzy" and denied a fair defense. Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, said the traumatic case was not some moment of moral evolution for the Senators, nor was one necessarily overdue.

"I resent assumptions that all men in this institution require an object lesson made of Bob Packwood so that we might learn to treat one half of humanity with dignity," he said. All people could be better, Mr. McCain conceded. But, as if sensing a different hypocrisy afoot, he told his colleagues: "I cannot quietly or publicly, genuinely or falsely say that Bob Packwood's departure was the necessary price for us to become better people."

His point may have been too challenging and metaphorical for the sorry spectacle presented by Mr. Packwood, the proud Senator become libidinous Road Runner, finally reduced to tearful retreat. But off the floor, Senator Barbara A. Mikulski, a Maryland Democrat, said her male colleagues had indeed showed evolutionary spunk. "These men have stepped up and honored their responsibility," she said, finding them goaded by "the searing effect on the psyche of the Senate" left by the just-don't-get-it hearings.

Unmentioned as Mr. Packwood resigned were the women who weathered calumny and derision in seeing their complaints through. Some were amazed that Mr. Packwood finally ran out of cover.

"I thought the old-boy network would protect him," said Jean McMahon, who had told of being slobber-kissed and chased around a meeting room by the Senator two decades ago when she applied for a speechwriter's job. "I'm not sure they get the part that's most important to me," she said, noting some Senators seem more upset by the diary alterations than by Mr. Packwood's sexual misconduct. "I think they got angry at the way he treated the Senate, not the way he treated women. Still, what I wanted in the long run was more than achieved, whatever their motive."

### Speaking for Himself

Change is slow and the problem of sexual foraging will have to be kept after in such a place of great personal power and staff obedience, Ms. McMahon added.

Senator Packwood offered no remedies for the colleagues he leaves behind. Rather, he spoke in self-tragic terms of "the dishonor that has befallen me." In his diaries, he had considered the worst contingencies that might befall him, including loss of his precious Senate seat, even while publicly maintaining his innocence. "I may be reduced in six years to my pension and Social Security," Senator Packwood admitted to himself three years ago.

"And, on that, I will live quite happily."



## Ideas & Trends

# The Decline of the Nice-Guy Quotient

By DANIEL GOLEMAN

**C**ONTRARY to conventional wisdom, nice guys do finish first. The trouble is, nice guys are harder and harder to find.

Amid the agonizing over standardized intelligence tests comes a new problem to worry about. Psychologists seeking a broader measure of intelligence, one that accounts for the personality traits that seem to predict success better than IQ alone, have discovered that a newly minted virtue they call "emotional intelligence" is declining as well.

A recent study done at Bell Laboratories, the high-tech think tank near Princeton, N.J., found that the most valued and productive engineers — at least among electrical engineers working in teams of up to 150 people — were not those with the highest IQs, the highest academic credentials or the best scores on achievement tests.

Instead, the stars were those whose congeniality put them at the heart of the informal communication networks that would spring up during times of crisis or innovation.

### Express E-Mail

When these likeable engineers hit a snag and E-mailed for help, they got an answer instantly: when others less gifted in interpersonal realms sent similar messages, they sometimes waited days or weeks for a reply.

The standouts excelled in rapport, empathy, cooperation, persuasion and the ability to build consensus among people.

The new term for these traits is emotional intelligence, which, in addition to the social graces, includes the ability to read one's own feelings, to control one's own impulses and anger, to calm oneself down and to maintain resolve and hope in the face of setbacks.

To predict the success of a financial analyst or geophysicist, IQ is still crucial. But within a pool of high-IQ people, those with high emotional intelligence will have an extra competitive edge.

Just as this kinder and gentler kind of intelligence is beginning to be defined, measured and appreciated, though, it is also found to be seriously endangered.

In 1990, the first systematic definition of emotional intelligence was formulated by two psychologists, Peter Salovey at Yale University and John Mayer at the University of New Hampshire, who were building on the notion of "personal intelligence" put forward a few years earlier by Howard Gardner at Harvard University.

So far, there is no comprehensive paper-and-pencil test yielding a single "EQ" score.



And, given the worshipful mystique that has surrounded IQ scores, perhaps there never should be one.

Emotional intelligence, like self-knowledge and personal charisma, has long been seen as ineffable, more the stuff of poets and philosophers than psychometricians. And yet, despite all that, the measuring has begun.

### The Marshmallow Test

Scientific data about emotional intelligence have come from dozens of measures assaying its various elements.

These narrow-gauge assessments vary wildly.

One test for empathy has viewers watch

people on videotapes with a muffled soundtrack; the viewers are supposed to intuit what emotion the people in the video are expressing.

A test for impulsiveness involves sitting a four-year-old down in front of a marshmallow, telling her she can have two marshmallows later if she waits several minutes rather than grabbing for the one marshmallow now — and then timing her to see how long it takes before greed overcomes restraint.

Whatever the measure, emotional intelligence appears to be in startling decline among American children.

In the mid-1970s, and again in the late 1980s, Thomas Achenbach, a psychologist at the University of Vermont, had thousands of American children assessed by their par-

ents and teachers on a behavioral checklist. He found that over the course of that decade and a half, America's children, on average, had become more anxious and depressed, more impulsive and mean, more demanding and disobedient, more hot-tempered and aggressive — and not just in beleaguered urban neighborhoods.

The study found growing emotional deficits even among the children of the wealthiest suburbs. Although the scores were worse for the poorest children, the rate of decline was the same for all, privileged and impoverished alike.

This across-the-board drop in children's emotional intelligence is in many ways a more troubling social trend than a dip in the Scholastic Aptitude Test taken for college

Scientists are starting to measure a new, more expansive brand of intelligence. But it may be declining, too.

admission. Deficits in emotional intelligence are linked with a range of social perils.

Children whose social ineptitude makes them lonely playground rejects are among those most likely to drop out of high school. Studies show that boys who are highly impulsive and disobedient as grade-schoolers are three to six times more likely than others to pick fights and to turn into teenagers with criminal records.

Impulsive grade-school girls, on the other hand, don't get violent; they get pregnant in their teen years — at three times the rate of other girls. And grade-school girls who confuse their own feelings — who can't tell the difference between anger, anxiety, boredom and hunger — are those most likely to develop an eating disorder in adolescence.

But the trend is not unstoppable. As every parent knows, emotional intelligence can be taught. Here EQ parts ways with IQ, which, some argue, cannot be helped much by education.

There is in fact a growing emotional literacy movement.

Just this year the Yale Child Study Center started the Collaborative for the Advancement of Social and Emotional Learning to promote courses for children in these basic human skills.

And a handful of pioneering schools now teach the basics of emotional intelligence just as they teach math and reading.

Apparently, students continue to be receptive even into their teen years. Neuroscientists have found that the centers in the prefrontal lobes that control emotional impulse are among the last parts of the brain to reach full maturity, sometime in mid- to late adolescence.

Emotional education amounts to an intentional shaping of this neural circuitry.

Now, at last, from the emotional literacy front there is some promising news: Children in the courses show marked improvements in the ability to control their impulses, show empathy, cooperate with others, manage anger and anxiety, focus on a task, pursue goals and resolve conflicts. Delinquency, fights and drug use drop.

And there is an added bonus: achievement test scores rise too.

### Iron Men

## Bill, Bob, Newt: Watch Cal

By R. W. APPLE JR.

**A**S has been its habit recently, Washington supplied a villain to the nation last week, in Bob Packwood of Oregon. But Washington was fresh out of heroes. It has been for some years now.

So, stolid, working-class Baltimore, just an hour's drive up the road, supplied one, a baseball player named Cal Ripken Jr. who embodies many of the virtues that voters seek in vain in their politicians and public officials.

Intelligent, steadfast and self-effacing, as honest as Abe, the unashamed exemplar of the simple, unadorned values of the American Sunday School, Ripken last week broke the 56-year-old record of another like him, Lou Gehrig, the Pride of the Yankees, for the most consecutive big-league games played.

Here's a plugger with grace and a strong work ethic who always seems to keep his focus. Can anyone in Washington match that?

The fireworks went off and the band music blared — a fanfare for a most uncommon common man.

Which is precisely what our Presidents often try to be. Thus, Lincoln and the log cabin, Jackson the backwoodsman, Truman the plain-spoken haberdasher and even Bill Clinton, the boy from Hope who made it to Oxford, Aw, shucks.

A youngster in the seats below me at Camden Yards, Baltimore's handsome new ballpark, held up a home-made sign that said it all. "C for class," it said, "A for ability, L for longevity."

And as the numbers 2,131 unfurled on the wall of the old B&O warehouse that stands beyond the right-field fence, the crowd went bonkers, shouting for 22 minutes, 15 seconds, by official reckoning — the most spontaneous, unbridled public show of affection I can remember since the Democratic convention in Atlantic City in 1964, when Robert F. Kennedy, whose brother John had been dead less than a year,

came out to make a speech.

We were a different country then, more unified, more inclined to cheer. Since then, we have had the worst of Vietnam, and the assassinations of RFK and Martin Luther King Jr., and Watergate and everything-else-gate.

With the signal exception of Ronald Reagan, people have felt let down by the pols.

By baseball, too. For most fans' taste, the players make too much money, brag too much, hot-dog it too much. Ripken is different. As the people at the game kept saying to each other, he is a throwback to a less complicated era.

He is a hero in an age of celebrity, the real thing in an age of phonies, a guy who runs out pop flies and dives after low liners as aggressively now as he did when he was 18. Damn the torpedoes; he decided long ago that if he got hurt, he would break his streak rather than maintain it with a token appearance.

When Ripken hit a home run in game number 2,131 (he had also homered in games 2,129 and 2,130), it seemed almost too pat. It was a relief when he hit a hump-back liner to the second baseman with the bases loaded later on.

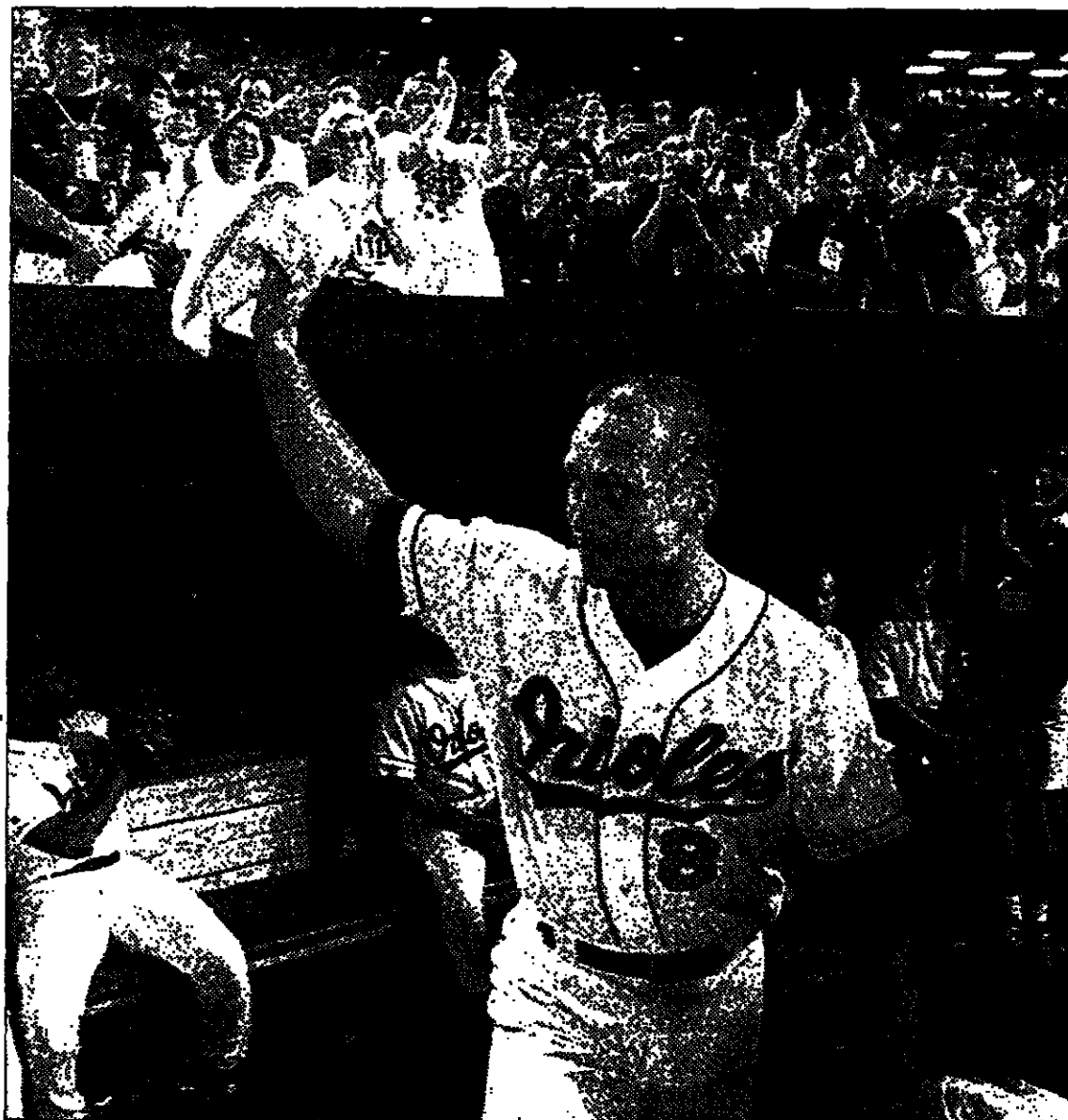
**T**HE streak is remarkable for a number of reasons. The first is perhaps the least commented upon: you have to be, and stay, a good enough player to discourage your manager, especially in the early days, from benching you when you're in a slump or holding you out of the second game of a double-header. It's not good enough just to show up at the ball park, ready to play.

Ripken managed that for 13 years. He did it because he is much more than a plugger; he is one of the best shortstops in major-league history, an all-star 13 times. He has hit more home runs as a shortstop (317) than any shortstop in history, and in 1990, he set all-time major-league records for the highest fielding percentage and fewest errors by a shortstop (.996, with only 3 errors in the season).

But you need a strong work ethic, too, and Ripken got that from his father, a baseball man through and through who, as his son said, "not only taught me the fundamentals of the game of baseball but how to play the game right."

That includes playing hurt and playing tired and playing with dignity. He showed this as early as 1981, when, still in the minor leagues, he played in all 33 innings of the longest game in professional baseball history.

And you have to keep your focus. During the last few weeks of the streak, Ripken was subject to continuous, overwhelming distraction. Yet he never let



Cal Ripken Jr. at his big moment, after breaking Lou Gehrig's record for consecutive games played.

his head be turned or his eye wander. He ought to give lessons to Bill Clinton, he of the famously short attention span.

Ripken is no goody-goody. He argues with umpires, he goof around in the clubhouse. But there is a rare grace about the man. On several occasions in the last two months, he stayed on the field into the small hours of the morning, patiently signing autographs. He answered the same questions from reporters hundreds of times, always willingly. He chose to have his children throw out the first balls on Wednesday night, not the President, the Vice Presi-

dent, the governor, the mayor or even Joe DiMaggio, who were all there.

He saw to it that extra seats were built on the field and sold for \$5,000 each, with the receipts going for research on Lou Gehrig's Disease. And he not only took a lap of honor around the ballpark when his teammates insisted, he took time to greet the ball girl and the clubhouse boy, to hug several of the visiting California Angels, and to high-five kids hanging over the wall.

Perfect pitch, they call that in politics. Not many have it.

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# Sam Zell: A Real Estate 'Vulture' Looks Skyward

**But will Rockefeller Center get the better of Sam Zell?**

By STEPHANIE STROM

Thou shalt not covet trophy properties.  
Thou shalt not buy at auction.  
Thou shalt not own old, outdated office space.

These are the commandments according to Sam Zell.

Or rather, these were his commandments. In bidding for control of Rockefeller Center, the grande dame of office developments, Mr. Zell, the feisty Chicago financier, appears to be violating his own cardinal rules.

Those rules laid the foundation for the billion-dollar empire that Mr. Zell and his late partner, Robert H. Lurie, assembled from the junkyards of the real estate industry and corporate America. Classic "vulture" investors, they bought faltering properties or businesses at cents on the dollar, betting that with a little prudent management and upturns in the business cycle, the value of their bargain-basement purchases would rise.

For the most part, their bets paid

off. Today, the empire spans 24,500 mobile home sites, 57,250 apartments, 15 million square feet of retail space and 28 million square feet of office space, which makes Mr. Zell and his Equity Group Investments Inc. the country's top owner of office space. Equity has much more than real estate, though, including stakes in oil and gas, insurance, cruise lines and building products to bicycles, radio stations, plastic packaging, drug stores and fertilizer.

But with the exception of the Revco drug store chain and Schwinn bicycles, Equity is a sprawling collection of companies and properties whose names ring few bells: Vigoro, Capsure, Great American Management and Investment, Iteq, Equity Residential Properties, Jacor.

Rockefeller Center sticks out among that crowd like the Hope diamond on a rhinestone bracelet, leading some to speculate that Mr. Zell is abandoning his principles in an effort to build a legacy. "Rock Center is an ego property," said David Shulman, former head of Salomon Brothers' real estate group and now its chief equity strategist. "I'm assuming Sam is doing this to make money, but that doesn't mean his ego isn't involved, too."

Could it be? Is the bad boy of real estate succumbing to the folly that lured Japanese bankers into buying Pebble Beach or Donald J. Trump the Plaza Hotel?

The mere suggestion elicits an unprintable four-letter response from Mr. Zell, who subsequently refused to pose for a picture outside the

center for fear some would mistake his intentions for what he calls "an edifice complex."

"I don't invest in anything other than economic prospects," the 53-year-old Mr. Zell insisted in his gravelly growl, which enhances his reputation for truculence. "If it's not economic, I'm not interested."

To hear him tell it, far from being an impractical trophy, Rockefeller Center is one of the few chances left to buy office space at a steep discount in hopes of reaping huge rewards a few years down the road.

Indeed, among real-estate cognoscenti, Mr. Zell's interest in Rockefeller Center — in spite of its name and age — is regarded as a clear signal that the bust that has plagued the commercial property business since the overbuilding of the 1980's is fast ending.

"It has become much tougher to execute a strategy of buying distressed real estate these days because there's much less distressed real estate out there to buy," said Mike Kirby, a principal in Green Street Advisors Inc. and a long-time Zell watcher.

Whether Mr. Zell will get the keys to Rockefeller Center should become clearer by Tuesday, when a bankruptcy court hearing about the center's future is scheduled in New York.

In May, the center's owners, the Mitsubishi Estate Company and Rockefeller family trusts, sought bankruptcy protection for the partnerships through which they control the property. In a bid to gain control through foreclosure, Mr. Zell has teamed up with Walt Disney and Merrill Lynch in a tentative partnership with Rockefeller Center Properties Inc., the real estate investment trust, or REIT, that holds the center's \$1.3 billion mortgage.

At Tuesday's hearing, the owners are expected to unveil their reorganization plan for the property. Until late last week, they had been working on a plan with a New York development company, Tishman Speyer Properties L.P. But those talks have halted because opposition from the REIT made it certain that the plan would never have been approved by creditors.

Instead, as the deadline for the hearing looms, the owners have been meeting with representatives of the Zell team. The plan under consideration would be designed to lessen the owners' tax liability from a change of control. In exchange for injecting \$250 million into the REIT, the Zell group would get a portion of the center's income for five years and then get ownership.

The effort to come up with a plan agreeable to all parties is a hallmark of Mr. Zell's way of doing business. "I'm known as a tough guy and maybe I am," he said late last week, "but I've learned it's a lot more fun to make love than to make war."

On the face of it, Rockefeller Center appears to be the most uncooperative of ventures. Its need for upkeep, improvements and repairs has cost Mitsubishi more than \$500 million — on top of mortgage payments and the \$1.4 billion the Japanese real estate giant paid for an 80 percent stake in the center and other midtown Manhattan properties and businesses that it bought from the Rockefeller trusts in 1989. The outlays have far outstripped the center's rents and the prospect of further losses prompted the bankruptcy filing.

Moreover, a month before the filing, Mr. Zell pooh-poohed Rockefeller Center and other "big queens," as he calls old but elegant office buildings, as obsolete piles of brick and mortar.

But a stroll through Rockefeller Center that covered "every square inch" of the property changed Mr. Zell's mind.

First, Mitsubishi and, to a much lesser extent, the Rockefeller trusts have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into improvements.

Additionally, Mr. Zell and others angling for control — including Goldman, Sachs & Company, a big creditor of Rockefeller Center Properties Inc., and two of the REIT's large shareholders, Gotham Partners and



Sam Zell, on the balcony of his office overlooking the Loop.

the Leucadia National Corporation — see unexploited opportunities in the property.

Take the roughly 500,000 square feet in the center devoted to retailing. With the exception of the area around the skating rink, the center's retail space is filled with second-rate restaurants and shops selling T-shirts and souvenirs. Yet the foot traffic is among the heaviest in New York. "The retail space is really a collection of tenants, not a shopping experience," Mr. Zell said.

Like others, he also believes the pieces are worth more than the whole. "Think of what Disney could do with the Guild Theater and Radio City Music Hall," he said.

The General Electric Company likely would pay top dollar for the building New York's call 30 Rock, which houses its NBC studios, among other things. G.E. has sunk at least \$1 billion into improvements in the building, and its rent, currently at below-market rates, is scheduled for a hefty increase in October 1997, two good reasons for presuming the company would be interested in buying the building.

But it is his more than quarter-century of wrestling with troubled properties and companies — and his understanding of the intricacies of the bankruptcy process and the center's tangled ownership structure — that gives Mr. Zell the best chance of capturing Rockefeller Center, and making it pay off.

"Rock Center is interesting because it has an unending number of players, both real and potential," he said. "It's like a jigsaw puzzle with an enormous number of moving parts, and the person who can see them all and know why they're moving and where they're moving will win."

Finally, there is the more global reason forcing real-estate vultures like Mr. Zell to cast their principles to the wind: properties in the throes of financial distress are increasingly hard to find.

Five years ago, a glut of real estate created a buyer's market, with a shortage of investment capital on the buy side and an endless choice of properties for sale. In short, the market was grossly inefficient — just the way the vultures like it.

Now, the economy is humming along. Very few new buildings have gone up in the last five years, and the excess capacity left over from the 80's is beginning to fill up. New players — like Apollo Advisors L.P., Morgan Stanley, the Blackstone Group

and Goldman, Sachs — are making the real estate game more competitive.

Been there, done that, says Mr. Zell, who dismisses most of his new rivals as "slicers and dicers" — they buy up a package of distressed apartment properties, slice them up into smaller pieces and sell them off in two years.

What's more, the increasing balance between supply and demand is making it a less attractive game for players like Mr. Zell. "It's what happened in 1980," he said. "The market got efficient — and efficiency is my enemy."

By that time, Mr. Zell had his first fortune. He started amassing it when he was in law school at the University of Michigan in the 1960's and began managing off-campus student housing.

After graduation, he tried his hand at law but found moonlighting in distressed real estate more fun — and more lucrative. So in 1968, he and Mr. Lurie, a fraternity brother, went into business together, buying insolvent commercial, residential and industrial properties from banks and pension fund and insurance company investors. They put virtually no money down but promised that if things worked out, the lenders would get a slice of the profits.

They did that until the late 1970's, turning huge profits. By 1980, Mr. Lurie and Mr. Zell decided that the distressed real-estate game had run its course. So they turned their attention to the corporate graveyard, acquiring control of Great American Management and Investments Inc., a real estate investment trust with some \$500 million in assets. Great American had emerged from bankruptcy protection in 1979 with \$120 million in tax credits, which could be used to shelter future profits. They sold off the real estate and began a diversification program, buying up companies and using Great American's net-operating-loss carry forwards to offset earnings.

They liked that investment so much that in 1984, they went after the Iteq Corporation, a computer leasing company that had also gone through bankruptcy protection. With more than \$400 million in tax credits on its books, Iteq fit the Zell-Lurie modus operandi, and they engaged in a battle for control.

Mr. Zell's boardroom behavior after their victory cemented his reputation for mincing few words, taking

no prisoners and suffering nary a fool. He sliced middle management jobs, fired the chief executive and scattered cigarette butts and ashes on the white carpeting in the executive suite.

Using Iteq's and Great American's tax credits to shelter profits, Mr. Zell and Mr. Lurie went on a buying spree in the 80's. They accumulated more than \$2 billion in debt, and when the recession hit in the early 90's, Equity was unable to refinance its many loans, more than \$500 million of which were personally guaranteed by Mr. Zell.

Worse than his financial woes was the loss to cancer in 1990 of Mr. Lurie, who had tended to the operational details of their holdings. Mr. Zell describes their relationship as "living out of the same checkbook," and Mr. Lurie's slow deterioration was painful for Mr. Zell. A photo of Mr. Lurie, whose wife and six children retain a 50-percent stake in most Equity deals, is on the wall of Mr. Zell's office.

Shelli Rosenberg, then Equity's general counsel, stepped into Mr. Lurie's role. She has deliberately kept a low profile but intends to increase her public role and the role of other executives as Equity's holdings become more and more public.

Becoming more public was part of the process of bringing Equity out of its financial bind. Since 1990, Mr. Zell has sold stakes to the public in seven companies. Last year, he took his apartment and mobile home holdings public.

"The buoyant equity capital markets have bailed him out," said an investment banker whose firm runs a fund specializing in distressed real estate that often competes with Mr. Zell for properties. "He couldn't have recapped in the private market and gotten values anywhere near what he did in the public market."

And since 1988, when Mr. Zell teamed with Merrill Lynch to coax institutional investors to give him \$408 million to plow into troubled property, a big portion of his deals are done with other people's money. Although the first Zell-Merrill Lynch fund started buying into the office market before it bottomed out, thereby depressing returns, Mr. Zell and Merrill have raised more than \$1 billion in two subsequent funds and are preparing to start a fourth.

Separately, Mr. Zell, in tandem with Chilmark Partners, an investment firm run by the former Salomon Brothers restructuring expert, David M. Schulte, has raised \$1 billion to invest in distressed companies. Until last month, Zell-Chilmark's holdings included 54 percent of Broadway Stores, the West Coast department store chain.

With the sale of Broadway to Federated Department Stores for stock plus the assumption of \$1 billion of debt, Mr. Zell pulled a rabbit out of the hat. Although he did not immediately recoup all of Zell-Chilmark's \$250 million investment, he did avert the bankruptcy filing that many were predicting. And if Federated stock goes up, it may yet prove to be a winning investment.

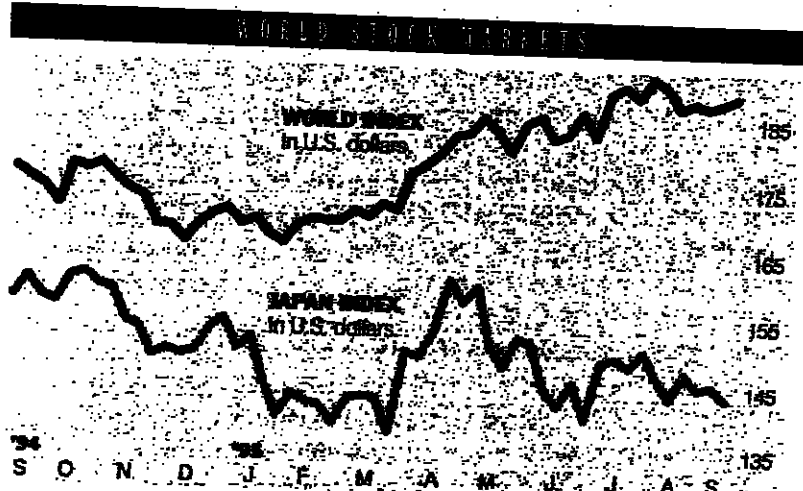
He now gleefully displays a miniature Lucite tombstone encasing a clipping from the Aug. 16 issue of Crain's Chicago Business, which predicted that the "grave dancer," the nickname Mr. Zell has chosen for himself, might soon "have a corpse on his hands" — namely Broadway Stores.

Mr. Zell expects his Rockefeller Center adventure to be commemorated in celluloid — not Lucite. In his dealings with Peter D. Linneman, chairman of the REIT through which Mr. Zell hopes to gain control of the center, there was one non-negotiable issue.

"I said there was one last thing that could be a deal-breaker, and that's that I get the movie rights to the story about the battle for this great property," Mr. Zell growled.

Mr. Linneman acceded — but only if he could choose the actor to play Mr. Zell. "Depending on how things turn out, you'll either be Robert DeNiro or Danny DeVito," Mr. Zell recalls Mr. Linneman saying.

Mr. Zell mused for a moment. "I actually like DeVito a lot," he said.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.	
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	186.06	0.6	14	8.4	16	3.95	164.48	11.8
Austria	180.56	-2.0	23	-1.2	22	1.28	138.89	-5.6
Belgium	187.91	-0.3	19	11.6	12	3.70	141.06	6.7
Brazil	153.23	1.0	7	-6.1	24	1.58	268.20	5.4
Britain	222.85	0.9	11	14.4	8	4.03	213.36	15.6
Canada	147.26	0.9	8	13.8	9	2.59	143.24	9.0
Denmark	281.99	0.9	10	12.0	11	1.47	219.57	5.4
Finland	268.62	4.8	2	44.5	1	1.30	246.72	33.4
France	172.13	-2.1	24	5.2	17	3.18	137.42	0.4
Germany	159.43	0.9	9	11.3	13	1.94	122.76	6.3
Hong Kong	367.27	2.1	5	12.6	10	3.85	365.03	12.7
Ireland	239.81	0.1	17	16.3	5	3.52	214.30	13.9
Italy	78.88	0.9	12	4.8	18	1.60	95.17	4.3
Japan	145.64	-1.4	21	-7.2	25	0.82	91.85	-7.2
Malaysia	492.62	-3.7	25	28.8	20	1.71	474.78	0.7
Mexico	1,210.91	4.6	3	-14.5	26	1.68	8,277.28	8.5
Netherlands	249.34	-0.1	18	15.0	7	3.43	188.88	9.8
New Zealand	77.97	-1.7	22	10.7	14	4.50	63.60	8.8
Norway	233.09	2.3	4	9.3	15	2.07	204.22	4.4
Singapore	365.25	-0.7	20	-2.1	23	1.72	240.53	-4.0
South Africa	348.08	0.2	16	3.4	19	4.15	279.01	-7.0
Spain	152.09	0.5	15	15.3	6	3.82	145.61	10.7
Sweden	304.46	7.9	1	31.7	2	1.85	323.39	27.1
Switzerland	201.73	0.7	13	22.1	4	1.75	152.22	13.6
Thailand	160.20	-3.8	26	1.3	21	2.57	156.12	1.3
United States	233.88	1.6	6	24.6	3	2.50	233.88	24.6

COMPOSITE INDICES						
Europe	192.26	0.7	13.8	3.02	166.99	10.9
Pacific Basin	156.08	-1.2	-5.0	1.24	102.27	-5.2
Europe/Pacific	171.06	-0.3	3.0	2.08	126.66	1.4
World	191.13	0.5	10.4	2.27	160.33	9.3

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1995 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

FINANCIALS					
Country	Currency	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japan	Yen per U.S. \$	99.63	97.43	+2.26	99.18
Germany	Marks per U.S. \$	1.4767	1.4825	+0.97	1.5376
Canada	Canadian \$ per U.S. \$	1.3378	1.3440	-0.46	1.3668
Britain	U.S. \$ per British pound	1.5508	1.5573	-0.42	1.5530

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

## Sept. 5-8: Stock Prices Soar, Bond Yields Continue Decline

### PRICES

#### DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Up 1.57%
S&P 500 index	572.68
Blue chips	Up 1.14%
Dow 30 industrials	4,700.72
Small capitalization	Up 2.69%
Russell 2000 index	314.42

#### DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Up 0.02%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	181.71
Municipals	Up 0.52%
Bond Buyer Index	115.69
Corporates	Up 0.12%
Merrill Lynch Master Index	774.42

#### AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Up 0.72%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	192.26
Asian stocks	Down 1.16%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	156.08
Gold	Up 0.31%
New York cash price	\$383.30

Foreign stock indexes are shown in dollar terms.

### YIELDS

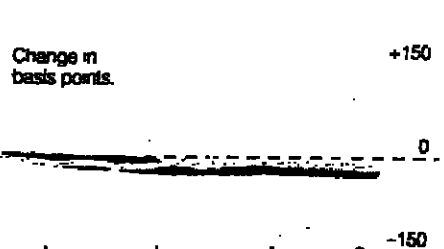
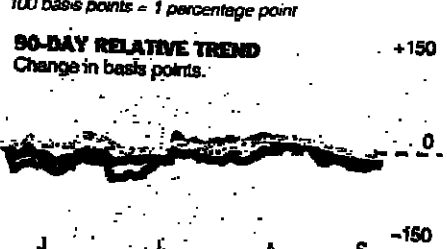
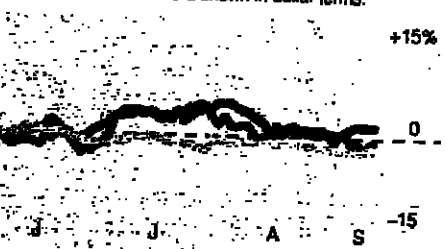
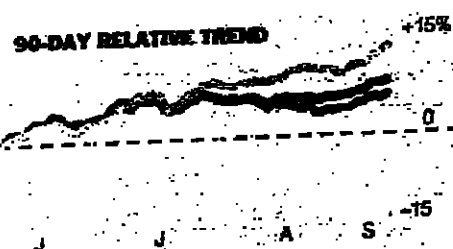
#### BONDS

Long bonds	6.57%
30-year Treasuries	Down 4 basis pts.
Short bonds	5.81%
2-year Treasuries	Up 3 basis pts.
Municipals	6.03%
Bond Buyer index	Down 4 basis pts.

100 basis points = 1 percentage point  
90-DAY RELATIVE TREND  
Change in basis points.

#### OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.25%
Bank fund average	Unchanged
Bank C.D.'s	5.14%
1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.
Stocks	2.44%
S&P 500 dividend yield	Down 3 b.p.





# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## The Celebrity Soldier, on Tour

Gen. Colin Powell says he will tell us in November whether he wants to try for the Presidency in 1996. But an examination of his views on everything from foreign policy to affirmative action has already begun. The main reason is that Mr. Powell's stock as an independent challenger continues to rise as loyalty to the political parties declines. Another is that he invites curiosity. With 500,000 copies of "My American Journey" about to appear in bookstores nationwide, and with the general shipping out on a 25-city promotional tour, Mr. Powell is hard to miss.

Mr. Powell enjoys the mystique and special protections that attach to a prominent personality who is not yet a declared candidate. Flirting with politics is not the same thing as marrying it. Right now, Mr. Powell is a celebrity soldier-statesman. His picture is appearing on the covers of the leading news magazines. He inspires articles in *The New Yorker* and *Vanity Fair*. He offers a truly admirable résumé. But if he decides to run he will be exposed to relentless inquisition, a fate that he and his family have so far been spared.

Even so, it is possible to draw a rough sketch of his beliefs from what is known about his book and from what he has said on the record, and to position him on the political spectrum.

First, he is uncomfortable with both parties. He thinks the Democrats are undisciplined spendthrifts. He says nice things about Bill Clinton but nicer things about Ronald Reagan and George Bush. He warmly embraces entrepreneurial capitalism and believes that today's tax rates are a huge drag on productive enterprise.

For that reason he has been labeled a Republican. On fiscal matters alone, he is certainly closer to the Republicans than to the Democrats. But he is definitely not a Gingrich Republican. He told a group of mutual fund executives earlier this summer that he found parts of the G.O.P.'s field manual — the Contract With America — "a little too hard, a little too harsh, a little too unkind."

He also defends affirmative action, which many Republicans oppose. "We do not yet have a level playing field in our society," he told his mutual fund audience. In the last chapter of his book, where he discusses politics, he argues that affirmative action is a powerful and necessary remedy for those who have suffered past discrimination.

As for abortion — a major issue among right-

wing Republicans — Mr. Powell has told friends that he cannot embrace the position adopted by the G.O.P. convention in 1992 that placed the rights of the fetus above everything else. A family-values man through and through, he does not like abortion. But he would not deny a woman's right to choose.

In sum, Mr. Powell seems to be a centrist, a free enterpriser with compassion. He thinks entitlement programs like welfare and Medicare have lurched out of control, but he is not about to abandon the social safety net. "I'm still a New Deal kid from Harlem and the South Bronx," he has said, showing a genuine appreciation for public programs like subsidized transportation and Social Security that gave his parents a secure life.

Clearly, Mr. Powell will not appeal to the purists and nativists who worry about Bob Dole's conservative bona fides and gave Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan their votes in the recent Iowa straw poll. They will like the general's encomiums to family stability, to teamwork, to tradition — the values that define his career and the stuff of the inspirational speeches he gives at \$60,000 a pop. They, and others, will also welcome his pronounced distaste for the violence and sex served up on prime-time TV, a subject on which he sounds very much like Dan Quayle and Mr. Dole. But there are too many soft edges to this man to satisfy those who dominate today's Republican caucuses.

For that reason, Mr. Powell's best shot at the White House would be to run as an independent. But here there are formidable obstacles. One is money. The Republican and Democratic candidates automatically qualify for Federal funds, \$55.2 million each in 1992. Independents get nothing up front, a big problem for any maverick not named Ross Perot. Another obstacle is that high approval ratings do not automatically translate into actual votes on Election Day. The polls now have Mr. Powell trailing both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Dole in a three-way race.

Given these obstacles, the most important unanswered question about Colin Powell, who by all accounts is a skilled fighter, is whether he has the appetite and ambition required of people who would be President. Politics is an exhausting, abusive game. After decades of hearing "yes, sir" can he tolerate being asked rude questions by rump scribes? He may well find the answer while he is out there making a pile in the book trade.

## Healing South Africa

South Africa's apartheid regime has been dismantled, but not its legacy of suffering, particularly among survivors of the violent crimes committed in its name. Paying the debt of accountability and reparations owed to these South Africans is essential to building a peaceful nonracial democracy.

Other countries emerging from decades of authoritarian rule, in Latin America and Eastern Europe, have struggled to achieve a balance between retribution and reconciliation as they come to terms with their history. It can be an anguishing work. South Africa has made a good start.

Generations of South African political prisoners were tortured and murdered in police custody. Activists were hunted down on the streets of South Africa and neighboring countries by clandestine police and military units. Some of the victims of this deadly repression were well known, like the Black Consciousness Movement leader Steven Biko. Others were known only to their grieving friends and relatives.

Earlier this summer, Parliament created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose operating details and budget are still being worked out. The emphasis, properly, will be on reconciliation. But reconciliation cannot proceed without first establishing the long-suppressed truth about a lengthy list of notorious incidents, like the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres and the Biko murder, and an even longer list of lesser-known abuses.

Suzanne Daley of *The Times* recently described some of these lesser-known cases. Sibongile Hadebe, for example, is still trying to find out who gunned down her husband on the street three years

ago as he returned from a meeting of the African National Congress. Deborah Quin has assembled evidence suggesting that South African Army troops crossed the border of Lesotho to kill her sister and brother-in-law a decade ago. Though South Africa denied involvement at the time, Ms. Quin believes those soldiers were actually awarded medals for their murderous cross-border raid.

To its considerable credit, the last apartheid government, under President F. W. de Klerk, began the process of investigating state involvement in secret political violence. The current national unity Government, under President Nelson Mandela, has the moral authority to probe more broadly, looking into crimes committed by opposition movements as well. It must make full use of that authority.

The new commission will not have the power to prosecute, but it will be able to subpoena witnesses and its findings could be used in later court actions. It is empowered to grant amnesties, but only to those who voluntarily acknowledge their crimes. It is also authorized to recommend the payment of cash reparations to victims or their survivors. Additionally, it is expected to recommend administrative and legislative steps to prevent future human rights abuses.

To make best use of the commission, the Government must give it a generous budget and Mr. Mandela should lend it the full support of his office. Even so, it will be able to investigate and resolve only a limited number of cases during its 18-month term. But if it does its job well, the dividends will be great.

## Campaign English From Senator Dole

Senator Bob Dole's declaration that English should be made "the official language of the United States" was couched in purest patriotism — to bind the nation together. But, as a contender for the Presidency, he surely knows this issue is divisive. It reeks of xenophobia and is particularly popular among the conservatives he seems too eager to please.

America is and must remain an English-speaking country. The ability of all Americans to communicate without translation is woven into the fabric of our open society. Foreigners who come here know that learning the language is in their own self-interest. Economic opportunity, employment and advancement depend on it — even following "E.R." on TV.

But requiring it by law is a sign that the society is not so open after all, that people who speak foreign languages are not welcome.

Addressing the American Legion convention in Indianapolis last week, Mr. Dole did not indicate how he would proceed, except to say that "alternat-

ive language education should stop." Insisting on fluency in English "is a welcoming act of inclusion," he said, "and insist we must." Most of the pending official-English bills in Congress would require that all government business be conducted in English, except where health and safety are involved. Some ban bilingual education and multilingual ballots.

Nebraska started the official-English movement in 1920 with an amendment aimed at German immigrants. More than 20 states have now adopted official English in some form, mostly during the last 15 years and because of concern over the influx of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. President Clinton signed the Arkansas official-English law as Governor in 1987. But George Bush, campaigning for President in 1988, opposed the official-English campaign then under way in Florida.

America is a land of immigrants. The overwhelming majority have proceeded to learn English if they did not already know it. But it offends the nation's freedoms to tell them they must.

## U.S. Has Evolved Beyond Tribal Conflicts

To the Editor:

Re "Ethnic Cleansing Didn't Start in Bosnia" by Kenneth C. Davis (Week in Review, Sept. 3):

As a matter of historiography, I have always understood that a definitive work cannot draw solely from the chronicles of one side. Yet this is what Mr. Davis does.

Granted, the American Indian nations did not have a written history, but there has to be a story to tell. Did the Indians slaughter, dispossess, commit genocide against other Indian nations? Were they blameless in all respects? Is it sobering and useful for Native Americans to remember that as well?

Mr. Davis concludes, "It is easy to rail against ethnic cleansing when they are doing it, but sobering to recall 'we' did it too." Therefore — what? We are to forgive? Mr. Davis offers no other lesson in his article except the implied suggestion that perhaps we should not condemn the Serbs, Bosnians and Croatians for their indiscriminate slaughter of innocents because well over 100 years ago our forefathers engaged in the same bestiality.

Let me supply what Mr. Davis omits to say. We have evolved. The ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia have not. In a slow, but consistent manner over a (historically speaking) short period of time, Americans have come to accept that it is evil to slaughter blacks, Indians and Asians because of their trivial physical differences from Anglo-Saxons.

The conviction of First Lieut. William L. Calley Jr. for the My Lai massacre of 1968, albeit inadequate, was a milestone in our history. I know of no other country where a soldier has been convicted by his peers of murder equivalent to ethnic cleansing.

The abandonment of overt anti-Semitism, the disappearance of lynching, the civil rights acts (which exist in no other jurisdiction), are all critical steps in this century toward a civilized society.

We are far from blameless, but compared with the obscurantist savages engaged in a 1,000-year Balkan war, we can congratulate ourselves and continue to condemn their inhu-

manity. Ours is indeed a more humane society today than that of the Balkans — and most other countries of the world. ELWOOD A. RICKLESS  
London, Sept. 4, 1995

### Who Is an Indian?

To the Editor:

"Ethnic Cleansing Didn't Start in Bosnia" (Week in Review, Sept. 3) does not consider a less extreme but equally destructive form of cultural eradication practiced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Federally recognized American Indian tribes are those in a government-to-government relationship with the United States. In the mid-1870's questions were raised about some 100 "unrecognized" Indian groups, representing more than 100,000 Indian people, that were known to exist without the benefit of Federal protection accorded other, recognized tribes.

In 1978 the Department of Interior pre-empted Congress's legislative prerogative and issued regulations by which unrecognized Indian groups could petition for Federal tribal status.

A petitioning tribe is required to submit extensive documentation of its history, its social and political

of Indian Affairs. Fewer than half of the petitioning tribes have successfully negotiated this process.

Tribes deserve a fair and competent evaluation of their petitions. Yet the most recent decisions on Federal tribal status reflect a return to 19th-century scientific racism, which promises dire consequences for many Indian people. In its evaluation of petitions, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has disparaged or ignored the work of social scientists and has rewritten standard histories.

The bureau argues instead that genealogy alone is the key to determining who is an Indian and what is an Indian tribe. And it unjustly rejects claims of Indian identity by demonstrating the presence of African or European ancestors in the family line of petitioning groups, information that is frequently derived from biased Jim Crow-era records.

The bureau remains insensible to the fact that Indians, especially in the South, had no control over how they were categorized racially. It would correct this oversight and spare us another form of cultural eradication by developing an understanding of what constitutes Indian-ness, something it has chosen not to do.

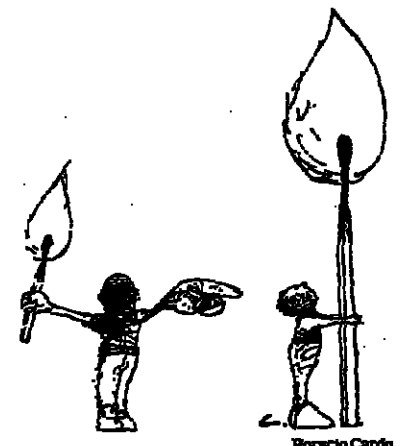
WILLIAM A. STARNIA  
Oneonta, N.Y., Sept. 5, 1995  
The writer is a professor of anthropology at the College of Oneonta, State University of New York.

### When Texas Joined

To the Editor:

Re "Ethnic Cleansing Didn't Start in Bosnia" (Week in Review, Sept. 3): Kenneth C. Davis exaggerates history when he states that the war with Mexico "brought Texas, California and much of the Southwest territory into the United States."

Texas had been an independent nation for nine years before it joined the United States in 1845, the year before the war with Mexico. That Texas joined the United States may have been one of the causes of the war with Mexico; however, it cannot be said that the war with Mexico brought Texas into the United States. DAVID S. ELDER  
Houston, Sept. 5, 1995



organization, and its ancestry. This information is evaluated by bureau staff members, who make a recommendation to the Assistant Secretary

### Baseball Wild Card Is Marketing Wisdom

To the Editor:

Re "Virtual Baseball" (editorial, Sept. 4), railing against the new wild card races, in which one second-place team in each league will qualify for the playoffs:

Is it really a problem that one team in the American League and one team in the National League, by reason of having the best won-lost record of all runners-up in the league (and possibly a better record than the leaders of other divisions), gets a chance to compete for the pennant?

Although failing to propose an alternative system to determine a winner among three divisional champs, you rant against the change as a crassly commercial marketing ploy.

It is good marketing, because it keeps a bunch of teams in the competition from which they would be otherwise virtually, if not mathematically, eliminated early in the season.

Marketing wisdom is not necessarily antithetical to what's good or right. Although certain playoffs, such as the wide-open Stanley Cup, are arguably "phony and demeaning," Major League Baseball's modest and arithmetically correct wild card is a welcome innovation.

My 9-year-old son, robbed of a Yankee World Series last year by the strike, continues to root for the Yankees, for whom every game still counts even though they are trailing Boston by some 15 games. I think it's great that he's learning about hanging in there. EDWARD R. CURTIN  
New York, Sept. 5, 1995

### Shevardnadze Prodded Soviet on Rights

To the Editor:

Re "Eduard Shevardnadze's Passion" (editorial, Sept. 3):

You point out that as Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Shevardnadze "eased decades of tension with the United States and opened the way for Eastern Europe to be free." But that was not all.

The basic policy of bringing the Soviet Union into conformity with international human rights standards was undoubtedly decided on by the collective leadership.

But it was Mr. Shevardnadze, using the powers vested in him both as Foreign Minister and as a Politburo member, who saw to it that many reluctant Soviet agencies were made to toe the line.

As United States Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs from 1983 to 1992, I was witness to the role played by Mr. Shevardnadze and his ministry in seeing to it that political prisoners were set free, that the laws

restricting freedom of expression were repealed, that freedom of religion was respected, that Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate were allowed to do so, and that abuse of psychiatry was ended.

None of these tasks were normally the responsibility of a foreign minister.

But Mr. Shevardnadze made the point that the Soviet Union had years earlier entered into international agreements to respect human rights and that it was his ministry's task to see to it that the country lived up to these agreements.

It is fortunate that Mr. Shevardnadze survived the assassination attempt. It was good news for all those who admire him for his contributions to international peace and human rights. But, as you observe, "Mr. Shevardnadze ought to get more credit and support for his labors than he has at home and abroad." RICHARD SCHIFFER  
Bethesda, Md., Sept. 6, 1995

### Republicans Aren't Cutting Medicare Spending

To the Editor:

"Congress Returns" (editorial, Sept. 6) states that Republicans are "cutting Medicare by about 25 percent." Under the Republican reform proposal to insure that the program remains solvent, Medicare spending over the next seven years increases.

Individual benefits rise from \$4,800 in 1995 to \$6,700 in 2002 — a 40 percent increase. Further, the Fed-

eral Government will spend \$178 billion on the Medicare program this year and \$274 billion in 2002.

Again, this is an increase, not a reduction. Reporting to the contrary does a disservice to seniors and to all Americans concerned about the viability of this important program.

NEW GINGRICH  
Speaker of the House  
Washington, Sept. 6, 1995

### Alabama's Fob James Defends Today's Conservative Values

To the Editor:

Howell Raines's "Genius of Bad P.R." (Editorial Notebook, Sept. 3), on Gov. Fob James of Alabama, is an unfair assessment of the man and the first six months of his second term.

Fob James is a conservative populist in the Jacksonian mold. He is a historian, a passionate defender of the Constitution and a thoroughly honest and decent human being.

He is also a man of considerable compassion. And it is this compassion that led him to offer himself for public office in the first place.

It was this same compassion that prompted penal reform and substantial public school reform, the two measures Mr. Raines savages.

Our sympathies, Governor James believes, are misdirected if we feel more compassion for criminals than for the victims of their crimes. The chain gang was instituted in Alabama to get violent criminals away from their cable television shows and weight rooms and into an environment that will make it clear that prison is not a pleasant place. Sev-

eral states have followed Alabama's lead in starting chain gangs.

The teacher immunity bill passed by the Alabama Legislature does not mandate corporal punishment but allows each local school district the option of such a policy without fear of lawsuits in a state that leads the nation in punitive damages awards. In an age when children are killing each other with firearms in schools and police patrol the halls, it is not unreasonable to give teachers another means of discipline.

As for cutting higher education's budget by 7.5 percent, the state's colleges and universities had a 13 percent increase the previous year. Many of these institutions had substantial cash surpluses on hand in their checking accounts.

The Governor's education legislation redirected funds from cash-rich colleges to cash-strapped kindergarten through grade 12. The logic behind this is obvious. If children are graduating from high school semiliterate, it hardly makes sense to ignore the basics while continuing to pump dollars into higher education.

The issue of funding higher education will be tackled on a case-by-case basis in the coming legislative session.

Perhaps the most troubling is Mr. Raines's insinuation that Governor James's advocacy of traditional American values is somehow a public-relations fiasco for Alabama and a throwback to the days of George Wallace and Bull Connor.

Fob James's record in race relations is exemplary. In his first term he appointed the first black justice to the Alabama Supreme Court. Governor James has stated frequently that his administration is color-blind.

Fob James is no racist. What he is — and perhaps this has not penetrated the rarefied atmosphere of *The Times* — is that rarest of commodities, a politician with the ability to assess contemporary events with the eye of a historian, and a public servant to whom the trappings of political power mean nothing.

Fob James is the genuine article. The people of Alabama know that. And the people of America are finding out fast. ALFRED A. SAWYER  
Dir., Information, Governor's Office  
Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 6, 1995

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Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

# Giant Puppet Show

For some time now we have been puzzling over J.F.K. Jr. Is he, as People asked, "a man with a plan or a dreamboat adrift?" Now comes George, his slick political magazine, showing that he is a man with a plan and a dreamboat adrift.

The idea behind George seems to be that politics can be fun, especially when you spice it up with women in varying states of undress. Actually, it's the same idea politicians have had for a long time. As if politics, in the Age of Packwood, is lacking in such titillation.

Cindy Crawford sets the magazine's tone. She's on the cover, with bare midriff, as George Washington. A few pages later she appears in a Revlon ad. Then she turns fashion editor, in a conversation with Isaac Mizrahi on political style. Here is the discerning Mr. Mizrahi on Mrs. Clinton: "She's putting the emphasis on all the wrong things. Like not smoking in the White House — that's all her fault. That the White House looks like Beefsteak Charlie's now. If Hillary Clinton had a really good charcoal-gray suit and wore it every day, I would respect her so much." And on Newt: "He looks like an evangelist. You just know that everything is pierced underneath — nipples, everything." And on Lamar Alexander: "Who's that?"

George is a strange cross between Vanity Fair and C-Span — a fanzine for politics. Mr. Kennedy believes that his magazine is a more worthy form

## John and George (without Paul and Ringo).

of dithering. And now he can publish pictures of bare midriffs that are not his. He touchingly says he attended a two-day seminar called "Starting Your Own Magazine." And the next thing you know, he has a press run of 500,000 copies and 175 ad pages. (The other visionaries in the class must have felt at a slight disadvantage.)

The editor and his publisher, Michael Berman, originally considered manufacturing do-it-yourself kayaking kits. But then Mr. Kennedy had an epiphany that politics is entertainment. Of course, it was his wily grandfather, Joe Kennedy, who pioneered politics as entertainment, spinning Hollywood-style illusion with great hair and teeth.

Joe's grandson thinks politics can be covered in a positive, "post-partisan" way, "as another aspect of pop culture." "As a lifelong spectator of the giant puppet show that can turn public people into barely recognizable symbols of themselves," he said, "I hope we can provide something more useful." What he provides, unfortunately, makes Gail Sheehy look like Alexis de Tocqueville.

• A horoscope for the Presidential candidates by Jackie Stallone: "Lamar Alexander. Past Life: in 1480, he was the Italian artist and inventor Leonardo da Vinci."

• An essay by Madonna on "If I were President": "The entire armed forces would come out of the closet."

• A story about how Julia Roberts was victimized by the press on a U.N. trip to Haiti.

• A party column called "We the People": "Andrew Shue... met Itzhak Rabin during a summer tour of Israel."

• Exit Poll finds that Mr. Alexander prefers Oprah to Uma.

Mr. Kennedy is right that culture drives politics. But journalism must regard that phenomenon critically — not complicity.

"This magazine is giving this society more of what it needs less," said Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor of The New Republic. "Politics is home-ly and unhip. It has the sizzle of seriousness. But the message of George is, don't take it seriously. Live shallowly. Lighten up. I'm waiting for the Italian version, like L'Uomo Vogue. Giorgio, with Carla Bruni on the cover as Garibaldi."

Celebrity distorts democracy by giving the rich, beautiful and famous more authority than they deserve. And the last thing politicians need is another instrument of public relations. Hordes of spinners are already everywhere at work.

If you drain politics of its gravity and moral force, you're left with stale stuff: Paul Begala ranting about the press being the enemy, photos of Gerald Ford by David Kennerly, and George Wallace estheticized by Herb Ritts as he gives his further thoughts on race. ("I did a lot of things for black people. Gave them free textbooks.")

Will readers picking up a fat, glossy magazine for some vicarious living really want to plop down with a profile of Richard Lugar?

Myself, I hope that John Kennedy gives up his fanzine and moves on to the real thing. The Democratic Party desperately needs someone who looks good in running shorts.

By Fred Wertheimer

WASHINGTON The diaries of Bob Packwood reveal a sordid personal story that the public was never meant to hear. But the diaries also tell another story, that was never intended for citizens to know. It's the story of how our elected leaders in Washington are perpetrating a giant fraud on the people in order to raise and spend

tens of millions of dollars in corrupt campaign contributions.

These donations, as large as \$100,000, \$200,000, even \$2 million, come from corporations, unions and wealthy individuals. They are used to buy influence over government decisions of enormous consequence, often at the expense of taxpayers.

During the last election alone, Republicans raised more than \$45 million in these funds while the Democrats raised \$40 million. It's known as soft money. But it's a con game. Here's how it works.

Corporations and labor unions are

prohibited from making contributions to support Presidential and Congressional campaigns. There are also limits on what individuals and political action committees can give. The law limits the amounts parties can raise, contribute and spend on behalf of Federal candidates.

To evade these ceilings, Federal politicians — the President and members of Congress — join with party operatives and big contributors to create a fantasy world. The Federal Election Commission, which winks and nods at the game, assists them.

In this fantasy world, contributors,

solicited by elected officials and their agents, give huge donations, which are not legal in Federal campaigns, to national and state political parties. These funds are supposed to be spent only on "general" party activities, like get-out-the-vote drives, and are not to be spent to benefit individual Federal candidates.

But in reality, this is a kind of money-laundering operation. The money is run through the parties to try to make it look clean when in fact it is being given and used to help Federal candidates.

In what he thought were his pri-

## Soft money is corrupting our political system.

vate diaries, Mr. Packwood revealed the soft money con for what it is.

He writes about a meeting he had with Senator Phil Gramm in the spring of 1992. Mr. Packwood was then running for re-election and Mr. Gramm was head of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the party's fund-raising arm for Senate candidates. Mr. Packwood himself had once led the committee.

Senator Gramm is described as talking about putting \$100,000 into Oregon to support his colleague's campaign. It was soft money. "What was said in that room would be enough to convict us all of something," Mr. Packwood wrote. The diary adds that Mr. Gramm "says, 'Now, of course, you know there can't be any legal connection between this money and Senator Packwood, but we know that it will be used for his benefit'" (emphasis added). Mr. Packwood continues: "I think it's a felony. I'm not sure. This is an area of the law I don't want to know."

Mr. Packwood altered this portion of his diary when he turned it over to the Ethics Committee. After this was discovered, he said the initial entry was inaccurate. The committee, meanwhile, found that the diary raised questions about possible violations of campaign finance laws and asked Senator Gramm to respond.

Mr. Gramm said that he did nothing improper and that the money went for party voter turnout and registration.

But let's be real. The Senate Republican fund-raising arm has only one purpose: to elect Republicans to the Senate. It raises millions of dollars in soft money that cannot legally be used in Senate elections, and it's not distributing this money to elect state and local candidates.

This is not a one-party problem. The three most powerful people in politics today, Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole, are involved in raising soft money. The soft money con is the worst campaign finance abuse today. It is corrupting our government and must be ended.

Fred Wertheimer is the former president of Common Cause.

## Raking It In

By Peter Alson

LAST month, the Brooklyn District Attorney, Charles Hynes, led an investigative team that busted the first computerized bookmaking ring ever uncovered in the metropolitan area. Last week, the New York State Lottery introduced a new legal gambling game, Quick Draw, a video version of Keno that is available in bars and restaurants and features nearly instant results. What is going on here?

Mr. Hynes's ongoing crackdown has him pursuing offenders outside his own borough and calling for legislation that would target bettors. In a city open to games like Quick Draw, his preoccupation seems odd to say the least. It's not as if there aren't more serious crimes to wage war against.

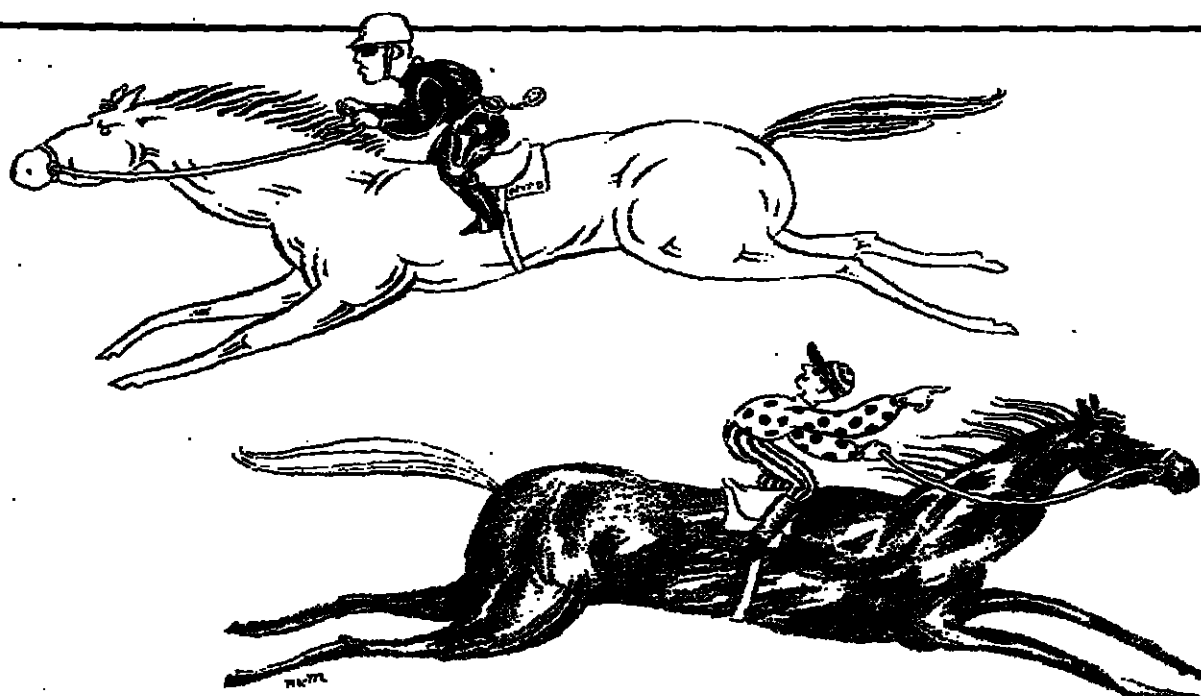
I must admit to having an unusual perspective: for about a year, I worked in a Manhattan bookmaking office, which was one of those raided by Mr. Hynes's task force. The bust, last October, was regarded primarily as an inconvenience. We spent the night in the Brooklyn House of Detention, paid our fines and were back in business the next day, shaking our heads at the hypocrisy of the law.

Why, after all, should sports betting be seen in a different light than

## Who's a bookie in a state that allows Quick Draw?

lotteries, OTB parlors or casino gambling? It defies common sense to suggest that betting on the outcome of a football or basketball game is more pernicious than betting on a horse race.

While Charles Hynes can be defended on the grounds that he is simply doing his job, his fixation helps highlight the national hypocrisy surrounding gambling. New York judges appear to be sensitive to that hypocrisy, since stiff sentences are



Matthew Martin

rarely handed down for illegal gambling. One of the guys I worked with had been arrested on 12 different occasions, but he never served time.

In Britain, bookmaking parlors are legal — licensed, not run, by the government, and the results are quite lucrative for everyone involved (except the bettors). Here, casinos operate much the same way. And the lotteries, including Quick Draw, which offer the worst odds of winning, are the most widely accepted and profitable ventures of all.

Charles Hynes has justified his crusade, in part, by saying that "sports betting is organized crime's cash cow." This may or may not be true. Bob, a bookmaker in his 20's who heads up a medium-sized operation in Manhattan, told me that such assertions were "wildly exaggerated." Bob's office was also busted by

the Hynes team last October, and afterward a task force spokesman boasted to the newspapers that Bob's outfit had links to the Gambino and Cumbino crime families. "The fact is," says Bob, who is Jewish, "the only Cumbino I know is the one from the old TV show."

Even assuming there is mob involvement in many bookmaking operations, this would be just one more reason to make bookmaking legal — so it can be regulated and taxed. The Mafia no doubt wants to keep sports betting illegal, and therefore more profitable (as might Donald Trump, who has thus far been unsuccessful in lobbying to block unwanted competition from Quick Draw). But while keeping bookmaking illegal may profit some, it certainly doesn't benefit the public, whose tax dollars are being spent on a losing proposition.

## Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## My Fellow Immigrants

WASHINGTON Last week Senator Bob Dole told an American Legion convention that "ethnic separatism" was threatening American unity, and he called for making English our official language. These are valid issues. Unfortunately, Senator Dole has suddenly raised them not to unite the country but to divide it — to play on the patriotism of the American Legion and the fear of new immigrants. But give Mr. Dole credit: If he was looking for a hot-button issue to revive his campaign, he found it.

I discovered this for myself two years ago when I was asked to give a speech to a teachers' convention in Miami on what I had learned about multiculturalism from living in Beirut. I explained that watching Lebanon, a multiethnic society, unravel had instilled in me two very strong beliefs: one was the importance of the American public school system. In Lebanon, Christians, Sunnis and Shiites tended to go to their own schools, and it made their society

ing for is community. But how? Well, unless we give people of diverse ethnic backgrounds a sense of belonging, unless we give them a sense that their identity and heritage are valued threads in the tapestry of American society, real community is impossible. That is why it is important to bridge people into the community, if necessary with languages other than English, and to encourage people of different backgrounds to express their cultural identities as a way of enriching the community as a whole.

But we should oppose a notion of diversity that becomes an end in itself, a diversity that becomes a substitute for neighborhood and community, where Hispanics, Blacks, Asians and Jews have their corners, separate but equal. Diversity without a spirit of community leads to tribalism. Community without a spirit of diversity leads to alienation for all minorities.

The goal should be a tension between the two. You won't feel the tension if you just live in your separate corner or walled community. And you won't feel the tension if the majority so overwhelms the minority that it is smothered into silence. You will only feel the tension when groups are rubbing against each other, trying to express their unique ethnic or linguistic identities, and at the same time trying to keep those identities enough in check to maintain the common bonds of community. That is the hard work of nation-building.

Unfortunately, that was not the hard work Senator Dole was engaged in. The giveaway was where he made his speech. It wasn't at Ellis Island. It wasn't at a language school where English was being taught to new immigrants. It wasn't somewhere where the tension between diversity and community was openly at play, and the Senator could talk about the right mix between the two.

No, it was at an American Legion convention, where Mr. Dole crudely assumed that people didn't want to feel the tension at all, and that was what he was selling them. He was selling community on the cheap — community without tension, community that is built from us against them and not us with them.

If Mr. Dole really wanted to wrestle with this issue, and not just exploit it, he would have begun his speech to the American Legion the same way F.D.R. once began a speech on this subject to the Daughters of the American Revolution: "My fellow immigrants..."

## Using language to unite, not divide.

that much easier to fracture when the strains came. It is the public school system in America that helps insure that out of many we remain one.

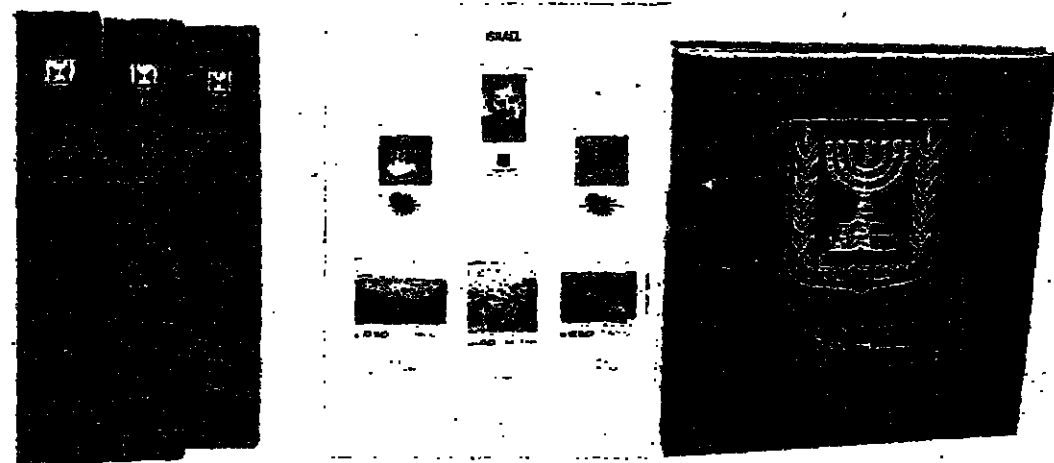
The other point was that in Lebanon education was in French, English or Arabic. There was no common language. I think that in America English should be the primary language and that students should only be taught in other languages as a bridge to English education. Permanent multilingual education is a road to ruin. We have enough trouble communicating in English.

What was striking was how many teachers said to me afterward that they felt the same way but that it was not "politically correct" for them to say so at their schools because multicultural extremists, pushing diversity as an end in itself, were the dominant trend.

This is sad. And what it produces are equally pernicious counter-reactions, like the Dole speech, which tries to use English as a club, or a code word, for stamping out diversity in education altogether.

The objective we should be working

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# Spike Lee's Inferno: The New York Drug Underworld

By DAVID BRADLEY

First come the still photographs: a montage depicting young black males. Their skin tones range from caramel-pecan to purplish ebony. Their bodies are cleanly muscled, like Alvin Ailey dancers. But they are not dancers. They are dead.

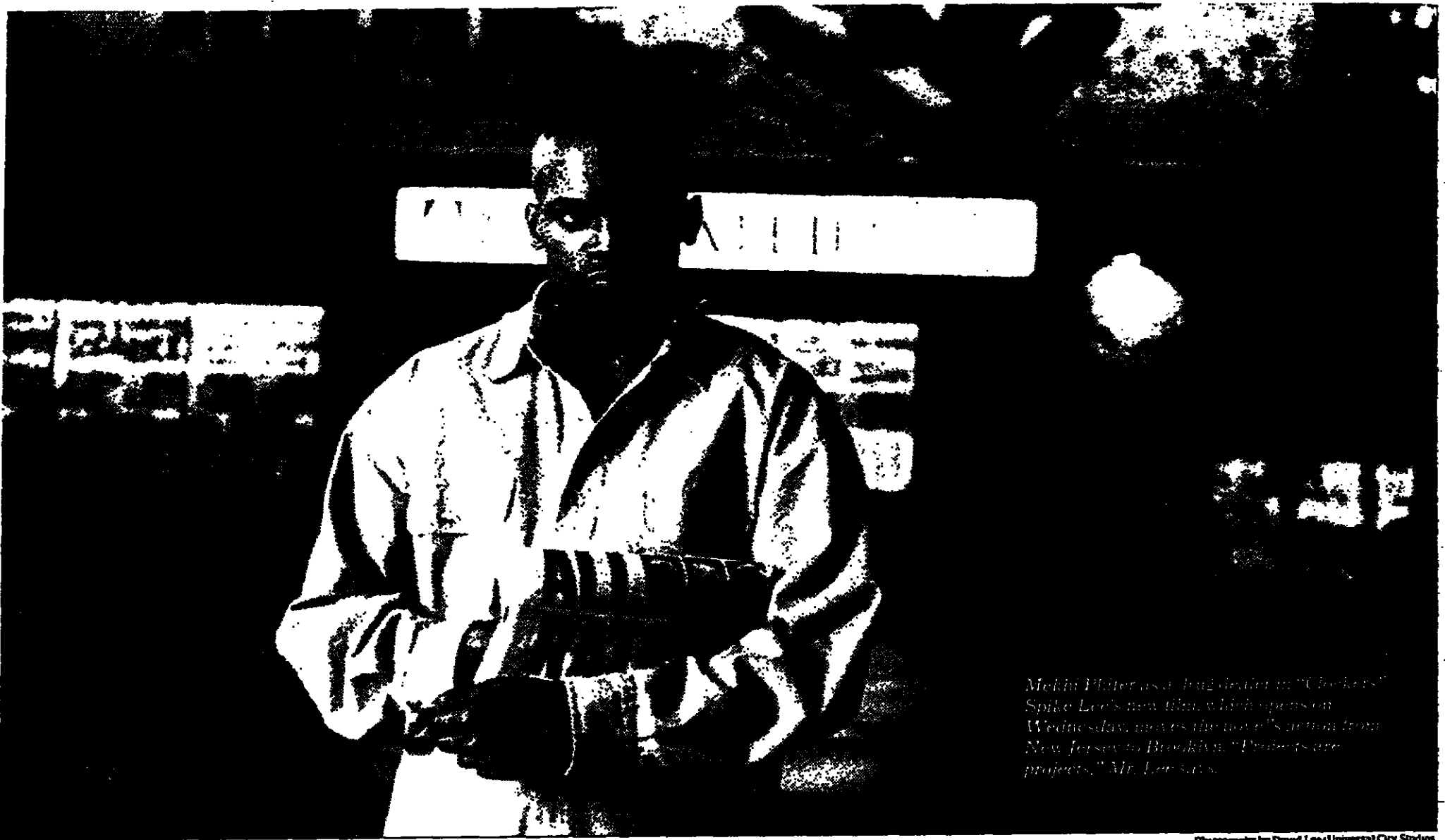
The stills show them lying in their own gore, marked by punctures of entrance, gaps of exit, and give grim explanation in black letters on yellow tape: "Crime Scene."

The photographs are a fiction, the postures posed, the wounds cosmetic. In fact they are part of a double fiction. First came the novel, Richard Price's "Clockers," a tale of life at the bottom of the drug food-chain. (A clocker is a nickel-and-dime crack dealer who hustles round the clock.)

When it was published in 1992, "Clockers" was hailed by critics as "clear-eyed and big-hearted" and as "a drama of quite remarkable complexity" and nominated for the Book Critics Circle Award. Even Quinn Eli, writing for *Emerge*, "Black America's Newsmagazine," while casting aspersions on white writers who exploit black subjects, admitted that the diminutive 19-year-old clocker called Strike "is extremely well drawn."

Now comes the movie, opening on Wednesday, produced by Universal Pictures; these stills are the opening credit sequence. But, though Mr. Price is listed as a co-writer of the film, this is not his "Clockers." This is, unmistakably, the "Clockers" of Spike Lee.

Erika Muhammad, the curator of a Spike Lee retrospective beginning on Saturday at the American Museum of the Moving Image in



Mekhi Phifer as a drug dealer in "Clockers." Spike Lee's new film, which opens on Wednesday, moves the novel's action from New Jersey to Brooklyn. "Projects are projects," Mr. Lee says.

Photographs by David Lee/Universal City Studios

## This could be the last word on black violence on film.

Queens, says Mr. Lee is an auteur — a director whose films have distinctive cinematic signatures that render a credit redundant. If so, the slight 38-year-old director has attained auteur stature in a remarkably short time.

"She's Gotta Have It" brought him to public attention in 1986. Since then he has directed eight films, including the historical "Malcolm X," the nostalgic "Crooklyn," the confrontational "Do the Right Thing" and the controversial "Jungle Fever." Hollywood moguls have been impressed that all his films made money. But critics and film lovers have been more impressed with his style — dreamy pull-backs, off-kilter close-ups. Mr. Lee has said his credit sequences, which are often as daring as film festival shorts, are another of his signatures. Yet another is what, in "Clockers," immediately follows the credits: a Greek chorus commenting in irreverent idiom. In "Do the Right Thing," the chorus was a trio of black men on a stoop. In "Clockers," it is a quintet of black teen-agers on benches at the heart of a high-rise housing project.

The credit sequence plays powerfully against the Greek chorus; these adolescents — rapping, acting mannish — seem more alive because those corpses were so graphically dead. In these first frames, it seems, Mr. Lee has shaped his style to the subject, and "Clockers" promises to be the most together of Spike Lee's films.

It is ironic, therefore, that Mr. Lee wasn't supposed to have anything to do with "Clockers." Originally, the film was to be directed by Martin Scorsese, based on Mr. Price's script.

The novel gave equal time to the crack dealer Strike and to Rocco, a white homicide detective punching the clock until retirement. The script focused on Rocco, as he investigates the shooting of a dealer; a suspect conveniently confesses, but Rocco isn't satisfied. When Robert De Niro agreed to play Rocco, the film seemed destined for Oscar nominations and big box-office returns.

Then Mr. Scorsese bowed out to direct "Casino." Enter Spike Lee, reluctantly. "I was leery of directing in this black gangsta, hip-hop, shoot-'em-up genre," he says. When interviewed at the headquarters of his 40 Acres and a Mule Filmworks in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn, he said he was also vexed by the script's emphasis on white middle-aged male angst. But Mr. De Niro expected from Mr. Scorsese. "No disrespect for De Niro," says Mr. Lee, "but when he left, I was able to change the focus."

Although Rocco, now played by Harvey Keitel, remained significant, Mr. Lee concentrated on Strike

(Mekhi Phifer), a drug dealer with an ulcer and dreams of getting "off the benches."

His boss, Rodney (Delroy Lindo), says Strike can deal indoors if he proves himself trustworthy by killing another dealer. When the dealer turns up dead, Strike finds himself caught between Rocco, who thinks he did it, and Rodney, who doesn't believe he did. Strike is, as the baseball hat logo says, "C2D" — close to death. This perilous proximity, a reality to young black men, is one reason Mr. Lee undertook the film.

"This 'I got my 45' and 'I got my 9' stuff," Mr. Lee says. "A lot of these kids don't realize, when you get shot, you're dead." To prepare for the credit sequence, he tried to re-create the "most grotesque photos" available from the New York Police Department crime scene unit. "To establish, at the very beginning, that we weren't going to treat guns, or violence, or life lightly," he says. But then Mr. Lee has never treated violence lightly. Before Bob Dele or Bill Clinton made their pronouncements about violence — and before shooting "Clockers" — Mr. Lee called for "not censorship, but responsibility" in depicting violence in films and videos. That the "Clockers" credit sequence bluntly visualizes his message is a measure of his concern; because Mr. Lee has always insisted that while he sees messages in his films, he doesn't like to point them out. "People watching should do some work," he said early in his career.

Now he seems to realize that adolescents may not notice his cinematic subtleties. In February, with shooting for "Clockers" completed, he told *The Los Angeles Times* that many recent films by blacks were too violent, "a throwback to the black exploitation films of the 70's." With the debut of "Clockers" imminent, his new line is: "Clockers" could be the final nail in the coffin, and African-American film makers can go on to explore new subject matter.

Some will say that Mr. Lee, in taking on "Clockers," was not exploring such new subject matter. He is — for him. Though there has been violence in his previous films — murder and riot in "Do the Right Thing," the shooting of the crack-head Gator Purify in "Jungle Fever" — no Spike Lee film has been about violence. Until now.

"Clockers" is an essay on violence. There are four fatal shootings, one a graphic multiple execution. There is a wealth of less-than-lethal violence, most visited on Strike. Twice he is symbolically raped, once by cops, once by Rodney. He is battered by a protective mother, stomped by a burly black housing cop, and by film's end his ulcer, now perforated, has him constantly spitting blood. He seems almost a man more sinned against than sinning. But this sanguine extravaganza is poetic payback for his sin: dealing drugs.

Some critics have complained that Mr. Lee has never done the right thing about drugs. He was slammed for keeping drugs out of "Mo' Better Blues" and "Do the Right Thing," pummeled for allowing drugs into "Jungle Fever." Given that "Mo' Better Blues" was about jazz musicians and "Jungle Fever" was about interracial romance, the critics had

a point. Mr. Lee thinks they missed the point.

"The interracial story is just what draws people to the movie theater," he insists. "Jungle Fever" was about how drugs have destroyed the black family. Certainly drugs motivated some of the most powerful scenes in "Jungle Fever": one reviewer said the crack house that Mr. Lee filmed looked "like an MTV version of Dante's inferno."

Hell is missing from "Clockers." Though dialogue and cinematography present the drug trade's twisted economic concepts, the social effects appear only obliquely. A crack house is not a setting for smoking drugs but for an execution.

Most users appear only as buyers; one is an AIDS-infected addict, proud that his needle tracks prove he did not get the virus from homosexual activity. Even the urban ubiquity of drug litter is absent: in "Clockers" there are no vials, no needles.

Such tidiness is another Spike Lee signature. The credit sequence of the autobiographical "Crooklyn" showed posters exhorting residents to keep the street clean; Mr. Lee projects that idea with all his cinematic settings. He opened "Jungle Fever" with a sepia-toned shot of Harlem. He had trees planted in Brooklyn, giving "Do the Right Thing" what one critic called an "incongruous Mister Rogers' Neighborhood look."

Mr. Lee says testily: "The media said they didn't see any used syringes or drug addicts. That was a very racist and limited viewpoint. 'Do the Right Thing' was not about drugs."

But "Clockers" is about drugs; that paraphernalia are little in evidence weakens the impact of the film. That is no accident. "Clockers" was shot in the Gowanus Projects in Brooklyn, where a New York Times article reported a sidewalk strewn with "countless crack vials, syringes and an empty 9-millimeter shell."

Supposedly, an auteur's vision reveals the meaning of his subject. But what if his vision overwhelms that meaning? What if a director sees only what he wants to see — or shoots only what he wants to see? When does auteurism become egoism?

These questions did not arise before because Mr. Lee's projects, with the exception of "Malcolm X," were expressions of his own experience. Though he tried to make "Malcolm X" "my version — my vision," he was constrained by the facts of history. "Clockers" is the first film in which he has been free to use his own vision while being challenged to tell a story not originally his own.

He did not deal with it badly: he simply did not deal with it at all. In *The Washington Post*, the visiting Yale professor Paul Gilroy described Mr. Lee's social vision as "brownstone pastoralism," an "idealized and relentlessly sentimental conception" of black family life. In the novel, the character who compulsively confesses to murder has been trapped by pregnancy into a loveless marriage to a slovenly woman. In the film, his wife, children and apartment are well kept. Brownstone pastoralism deprives him of crucial motivation.

Mr. Lee's love of real Brooklyn

brownstones has similar effect. Mr. Price's novel was set in northern New Jersey, a locale with a certain mythos. There are found William Carlos Williams's "cardboard shoes, bad dentistry/windows that will not open, poisonous gin." There, Bruce Springsteen's losers dream of meetings on the other side.

Mr. Price used this mythos to show men, black and white, leading lives of loud desperation, to make them seem small — third-rate dealers, third-rank cops in a third-class city.

Mr. Lee shot the film in Brooklyn, because, he says, it was cheaper than trekking through the tunnels to New Jersey and "projects are projects." But location is not the issue. Setting is, and the setting of the film is unmistakably a borough of New York, within the aura of the Apple. Worse, as a newspaper headline in the film reveals, this is not Brooklyn but Crooklyn — which owes its brownstone ethos to no one but Spike Lee.

Moved to Crooklyn, "Clockers" is stripped of clear-eyed complexity and Strike loses the stutter, that,

made him "infinitely more fallible, human and believable" in the opinion of Mr. Eli of *Emerge* magazine. In Crooklyn, the killer is released from jail. That's because, Mr. Lee says, "we want to have a little hope at the end." Moved to Crooklyn, "Clockers" breaks the promise of unity made by its early frames.

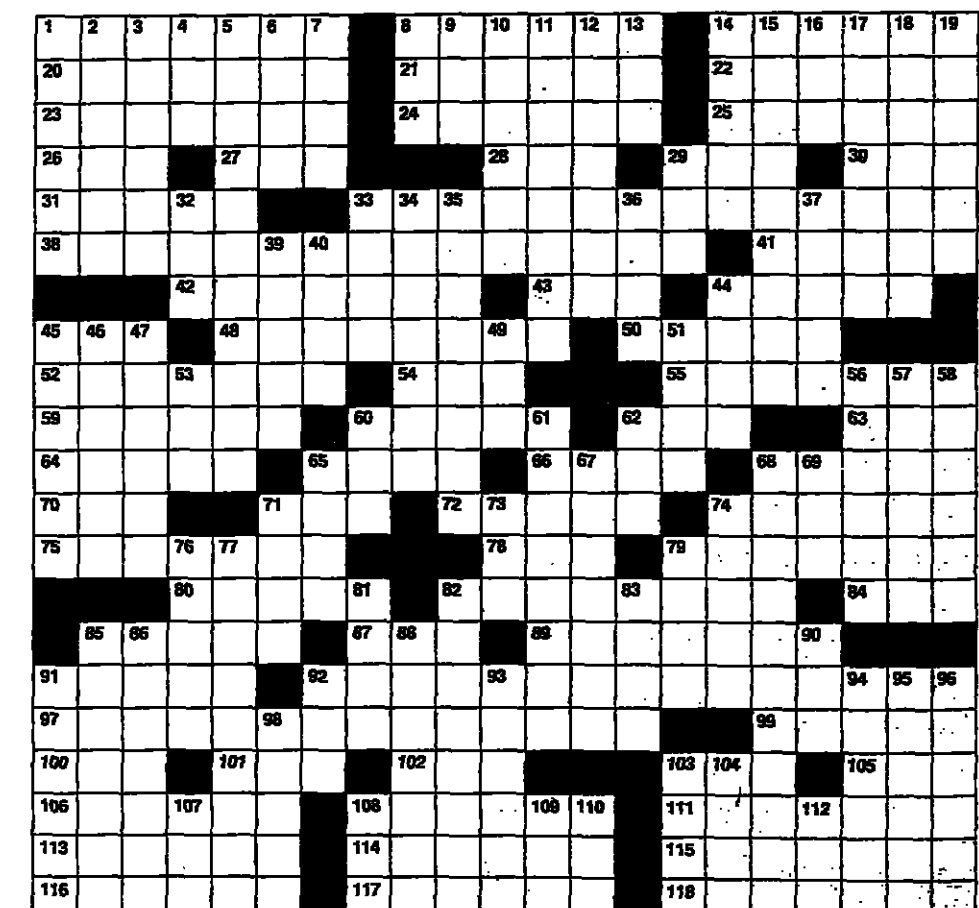
No. 1, a good director is a good storyteller, Mr. Lee says. But in "Clockers," his vision undercuts the story and also his best intentions. For what is the point of showing dead bodies if you show a killer getting out of jail?

## WISCRACKS

By DAVID J. KAHN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

### ACROSS

- 1 Card game with four jokers
- 8 Lovebird's phone question
- 14 Spinning
- 20 70's tennis star from Spain
- 21 All the same
- 22 Short-skirted garment
- 23 White or gray mineral
- 24 Longhorns
- 25 Ivanhoe's love
- 26 — Alamos
- 27 Part of a shuffle and three steps
- 28 Monopoly landings: Abbr.
- 29 Subsidy
- 30 Dallas player, for short
- 31 Spring
- 33 What Lola did in "Damn Yankees?"
- 38 Rehearse stand-up comedy?
- 41 Dry up
- 42 Feeling unworthy
- 43 Swell on el océano
- 44 Pulled a lever, maybe
- 45 Small number
- 48 Milk cow
- 50 Janis Joplin, to her fans
- 52 Believer of spirits in plants
- 54 Ad —
- 55 Old infantry soldier
- 59 Friction
- 60 Took notice
- 62 Precious
- 63 "Chances —"
- 64 October alternative
- 65 Model
- 66 Big hand?
- 68 "Missing" locale
- 70 Command ending
- 71 Annoy
- 72 Kind of copy
- 74 Ready to spring
- 75 House transactions
- 76 Pencil partner
- 79 Sensible
- 80 Hugo novel — "s'amuse"
- 82 Exhibitor's place
- 84 Old car make
- 85 Comedy writer Pat
- 87 Capek play
- 89 Protective sheet for artwork
- 91 Kind of stream
- 92 How to use excess cotton or silk?
- 97 Attracted to the wrong men?
- 99 "Do I — Waltz?"
- 100 4-point Scrabble tiles
- 101 Marching cadence word
- 102 Neighbor of Ger.



### DOWN

- 1 Word with white or dog
- 2 Botanical space
- 3 Queasy feeling
- 4 Mandela's polit. party
- 5 Work period in a glue factory?
- 6 Ninth Hebrew letter
- 7 Not landbound
- 8 "No —" (Spanish boxer's cry)
- 9 Communications corp.
- 10 Auto option
- 11 Subsidiary of 9-Down
- 12 Bring together
- 13 S.A.T. company
- 14 Pungent
- 15 Angst-filled movie?
- 16 See 103-Across
- 17 One way to reduce taxes
- 18 Like Saigon, today
- 19 Raise, in a way
- 29 Know-how
- 32 Oklahoma town
- 33 Beauties
- 34 Franklin et al.
- 35 High-tech communication
- 36 Put — on (film)
- 37 Boxer's quest
- 39 More than that
- 40 Sentry's cry
- 44 Full of oneself
- 45 "Step on it"
- 46 Menu item
- 47 Electricians
- 49 Hosp. area
- 51 Narrative poetry
- 53 Frank's third
- 56 1980 Pulitzer novelist
- 57 Longtime "What's My Line" name
- 58 Must
- 60 Either of two A.L. teams
- 61 Minesweeping device
- 62 Spell
- 65 Devalued currency
- 67 Legal add-on
- 68 Local politicians?
- 69 Camouflaged
- 71 Green, in heraldry
- 73 Car-emissions agcy.
- 74 European in the news

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

ARUBA ANDOT OLGA ABA  
SOLES APERS KUOVO RES  
SUNDAYGOTOEETING RES  
WEAT BITE SLEPT NARA  
ICEENOV BLUENODAY  
DASHAN ERI ASTRIE  
GELIC NITY BERE BBA  
TUTS DAYSCHILD ROTERS  
SEE TUTO ARTS CHIT  
LEROA INNING CATT  
ONTO ONVEDNESDAY CARR  
NOTO SONTAS APLE  
ANASS ASOP ESE BOP  
TELECOM THURSDAYSARE  
ERY ARON TUTU RALON  
PREDATE NRS GENTOT  
GIRAFDAY PATTERIS CATT  
OLEO SITES IUS NEPU  
FOS SATURDAYNIGHTBARE  
EVE BERRY DIANE BARE  
REL LESS ENTIS BARE

هكذا من الاسل



## Some upbeat news for the joy-impaired

**R**ICHARD Bentall's proposal cheers the joy-impaired.

Happiness, the psychology professor argued, should be classified as a psychiatric illness — "major affective disorder, pleasant type."

He pointed to a variety of negative consequences of the condition and speculated that if his suggestion was accepted, happiness-suppression clinics and anti-happiness medications would be soon to follow.

When the idea surfaced in the *New Republic* recently, a paradoxical flicker of said emotion lit the face of more than one otherwise miserable wretch.

At last, it seemed, a reputable researcher had said what perpetual pouters have always known: that those cheerful, upbeat, "Have a Nice Day!"-spouting Gumpites who skip blithely through life are screwier than sun-addled squid.

Sadly, it turns out that the Liverpool professor's proposal, first published in the *Journal of Medical Ethics*, was a flash of false hope, for the habitually morose. His real intention, he said, was to satirize the methodology of psychiatric diagnosis.

Bentall is adamant that his proposal not be taken seriously. In fact, though, the study of happiness has taken a serious turn, as increasing numbers of psychological researchers — loosely termed "happyologists" — have shifted their scrutiny from pathology to this more upbeat condition.

And while most of the research — OK, all of the research — suggests that happiness is a good thing, it also calls into question much conventional wisdom on

the subject. According to *Psychology Today's* periodic "happiness watch," happyological studies show that nine of 10 North Americans consider themselves at least "pretty happy." But that does not mean the condition is epidemic.

In an extensive compilation of studies in this esoteric field, noted happyologists David Myers, of Hope College in Michigan, and Ed Diener, of the University of Illinois, charted the supposed facts and myths of happiness, or "Subjective Well-Being," which they define as "a preponderance of positive thoughts and feelings about one's life."

Among the conclusions they list in a paper to be published in an upcoming issue of *Psychological Science*:

- Happiness is not determined by a time of life. Teen angst, midlife crises, empty-nest blues and old-age depression aren't the problems we've been led to think.

- "Knowing someone's age gives no clue to the person's average sense of well-being," they report.

- While women tend more to miserableness than men — and men to antisocial personality disorder — when all's said and done, happiness is an equal-opportunity condition.

- White Americans report only slightly more happiness than blacks, and blacks are slightly less prone to depression.

Individual misery can indeed stem from poverty, and there is a marginal connection between a nation's wealth and its collective happiness, Myers and Diener report.

But such correlations are neither key nor universal: Studies found the Irish, for instance, gen-

erally more satisfied than the richer folks in what was then West Germany. And lottery winners' euphoria soon dumps them back to their pre-wealth emotional state, the researchers found.

Some happyologists believe there are traits and attitudes that can lead to a happier frame of mind — although things here get chicken-or-egg.

According to the Myers and Diener study, happy people tend to:

- Like themselves. (Maybe that's because happy people are more likable.)

- Feel that they have control over their lives. (Did anyone doubt that prisoners, nursing-home patients and the subjects of despots would say they're less happy as a rule?)

- Are optimistic. (Happiness is usually determined by self-evaluation. Wouldn't optimists tend to look on the bright side of their mental state?)

- Are extroverted. (But aren't the woeful more likely to mope?)

Arthur Stone, a professor of psychiatry and psychology at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, has even shown that "positive affect," of which happiness is a component, can be good for the immune system.

"I don't know of any evidence, behavioral or physiological, that suggests happiness is detrimental," Stone said.

Pressed, though, he did concede: "When you become happy, you can also become aroused. I guess someone with a cardiovascular disease might be at some small risk."

Bentall's original proposal made a similar (if spurious) point: "Consistent clinical evidence of an association between



happiness, obesity and indulgence in alcoholic beverages ... [makes it] reasonable to assume that happiness poses a moderate risk to life."

He went on to note that mental illness, by some standards, is defined as "any deviation from the norm by way of excess or deficit, which confers upon the sufferer some form of biological disadvantage."

In a phone conversation from his office in Liverpool, Bentall expressed concern that his proposal not be misinterpreted, as it was when the British press came

upon his original paper in 1992.

"Some of the British newspapers reported it as if I were insane myself," Bentall said. "Others reported it deadpan, like a [real] scientific discovery.... My mother wouldn't speak to me."

"My point was that it's very difficult to draw up criteria for distinguishing sanity from insanity," he said.

And with the ground separating sanity from insanity so shaky, even happiness can be pushed into psychologically problematic muck, he said. (Los Angeles Times)

## For endangered turtles, it's a farm or nothing

EARTHLY CONCERNS

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

**W**Henever one thinks of endangered species, one automatically pictures rhinos and tigers or, perhaps, some remarkable birds. But one of the most seriously endangered groups in the world today is the sea turtles. There are several dozen species, and almost all are in immediate danger.

Turtle shells have been in demand for centuries as a material for making ornamental objects. At one time, it really was almost the only material suitable for lightweight combs, hairpins and countless other useful items. However, today there are plastics that serve the purpose equally well, and some of them are hard to differentiate from real turtle shells.

But the capture and killing of vast numbers of turtles continue. Partly because real shells now have a certain snob appeal and partly because there are communities in the Far East, such as the one in northern Japan, where the making of objects from turtle shells is the single occupation of the entire community and has been their craft for several hundred years. In these communities, hundreds of thousands of cigarette lighters, key-chain ornaments, boxes and hair ornaments are carved every year.

It isn't only the trade in ornaments that threatens these sea creatures, but some of the beliefs common in many Far Eastern countries, especially in China.

Turtle blood is used as a remedy for dozens of complaints, ranging from insomnia to difficult childbirth situations, while turtle meat is believed to be an almost absolute guarantee of longevity.

Turtle eggs, harvested by thousands from the shores of islands along the Pacific Rim, are highly prized as an aphrodisiac for men and an aid to the conception of male offspring for women.

The situation is becoming so serious that more and more countries are enacting laws to protect sea turtles. Fines for illegal hunting are usually high, but the trade is so lucrative that many find poaching to be worth the risk.

To combat this, a number of countries — including Thailand, Malaysia and Taiwan — are designing projects to breed turtles in captivity. They hope that this will provide enough shells, meat, blood and eggs to meet the demand and save the remaining wild turtles.

Although the projects are still in the experimental stage, the Taiwanese report some dramatic successes in egg production by using hormones and artificial insemination, thus inducing at least one species of sea turtles to lay eggs twice a year instead of once.

It is also reported that under optimal conditions — where highly nourishing food is provided in abundance and water temperatures are controlled — the turtles reach a marketable age in about 65 percent of the time that it would have taken them to mature in natural surroundings. The resultant turtle crop is also larger since the young are protected from predators and far more of them survive.

The farming of yet another species for totally unnecessary human demands may be, for many, a deplorable act, but right now, it seems that it is either turtle farms or no turtles at all.

## Court rejects El Al's forced early retirement of air stewards

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the National Labor Court before the president, Judge Meir Hershkovitz, the deputy president, Judge Stephen Adler, Judge Yitzhak Eliahu, employees' representative Nira Shamsi, and employers' representative Dr. Hadasa Ben-Mor, in the matter of *Ephraim Recanat and five others, appellants, versus El Al Israel Airlines and others, respondents* (Resh-7,95) Dated Bet Aviv Nam Hel/3-118, 9-142).

**C**OLLECTIVE agreements between El Al Airlines and its employees lay down compulsory retirement for male ground personnel at the age of 65, and for women at the age of 60. However, the corresponding ages in the case of air personnel are 60 and 55.

Five of the appellants were air stewards who were obliged to leave their jobs at the age of 60, while one has not yet reached that age. They protested to El Al that their being forced to retire earlier than others constituted unjust discrimination which was against public policy. They also pointed out that age from either El Al or the National Insurance Institute, and their reemployment prospects were poor.

El Al replied that the nature of their work, which demanded neat

external appearance and physical strength, justified earlier retirement, that the provision was non-discriminatory, and was laid down in a collective agreement and therefore binding.

The former employees then applied to the Tel Aviv District Labor Court to declare it unlawful. The court rejected the application, and they appealed to the National Labor Court.

JUDGE ELIASOFF delivered the court's judgment. Recanat's counsel, he said, had submitted that the provision in question was too wide since it neglected considering the individual physical capacity of a particular steward to perform his duties.

He also stressed that other clauses in the same agreements entitled El Al to transfer him to ground duties on medical grounds or for unsuitability, or because of "an esthetic flaw and/or changes in his external appearance." The employee could also request an early release from his employment under certain circumstances.

El Al's counsel had disputed the alleged effect of earlier retirement of air stewards on their pension rights. He had also supported the provision attacked on the grounds of the neatness and physical fitness demanded of air stew-

ards, pointing out that other national air carriers usually applied the same rule. He argued there was no unjust discrimination, and emphasized the court's reluctance to intervene in the implementation of collective agreements.

Judge Eliasoff then noted that in the Collective Agreements Law of 1957, the Knesset had recognized the autonomy of employers and employees to regulate their relationship in such agreements.

However, section 30 of the Contracts Law (General Part) of 1973 avoided a contract "the making, contents or object of which is or are illegal, immoral or contrary to public policy."

Moreover, before that Law was enacted, the courts relied on section 30 of the Ottoman Civil Procedure Code in determining what was unjust discrimination. The section contained provisions similar to the 1973 Law. Citing, inter alia, Nevo's case (H.C.104/87, *The Jerusalem Post Law Reports*, p. 164), he added that principle had also been followed in regard to discrimination based on age.

The court's precedents showed, he continued, that unjust discrimination in labor relations, as in other areas, meant a different attitude toward equals.

Thus, in International Labor Organization Convention No. 111 relating to employment and occupations, discrimination was defined as distinctions or preferences based on race, color, sex, religion, political outlook, national or social origin. Age, however, was not included.

ON THE other hand, section 42 (a) of the Employment Service Law of 1959 forbade discrimination on the ground of age in finding employment, and rule 43 of the State Service Appointments Rules of 1961 permitted age as a factor if included as such in a

tender.

Judge Eliasoff then traced the widening scope of the Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law of 1988 through its amendments in 1992 and 1995. In the last amendment, No. 3 of 1995, the Knesset for the first time introduced age into section 2(a) of the Law as a forbidden ground for discrimination not only in regard to being accepted for employment, but also regarding conditions of work, advancement in work, professional qualification or refresher study, dismissal or severance pay.

In dealing with the question of public policy under section 30 of the Contracts (General Part) Law, he added, the court also had to consider the legislative trend based on relevant

precedents.

It was true, he continued, that under section 2 (c) of the Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law, "discrimination inherent in the nature or character of the office or duty shall not be regarded as such for the purposes of this section," and El Al had emphasized that the provision in question was based on the nature and character of the duties of air stewards.

The court, however, had to relate to a collective agreement as a whole. As Recanat's counsel had stressed, the agreement itself allowed a steward to take early release from his employment under certain circumstances. Moreover, El Al had the right to transfer a steward to ground duties for reasons of health, unsuitability or unesthetic appearance.

The above two provisions — particularly the second — made it unnecessary for the agreement to stipulate different retirement

ages for air and ground personnel, Judge Eliasoff held.

The court was fully conscious, he said, of its reluctance to intervene in the implementation of collective agreements. Having regard, however, to the facts in the case, particularly the provisions permitting El Al to ground air stewards in the circumstances described, and the tendency of the precedents and the legislative developments, it had decided to invalidate the distinction in the collective agreements between the retiring ages of air and ground stewards.

FOR THE above reasons, the appeal was allowed, with no order as to costs.

Micha Spitzer and Hadasa Ben-Dov appeared for the appellants; Thomas Manor appeared for El Al, and Eli Mei-Tal appeared for some respondents.

The judgment was given on August 8, 1995.

**NEW AT BEN GURION NEW AT BEN GURION NEW AT BEN GURION NEW**

**Israel Airports Authority**  
**Ben Gurion International Airport**

**New Telephone Numbers for Flight Information at Ben Gurion Airport**

Today, September 11, a new digital recorded information service has been introduced at Ben Gurion which will increase its capacity by 40%. The new system has 120 lines which will enable 120 people to receive information simultaneously on the times of flight departures and arrivals in four languages.

*"We advise the public to make use of this new service."*

**Computerized Recorded Information - New Telephone Numbers**

1. Hebrew	03-9723333
2. English	03-9723344
3. Arabic	03-9723355
4. Russian	03-9723366

Using the recorded information service

Dial the number (e.g. 03-9723333 for information in Hebrew) and listen to the introductory instructions:

If you know the flight number, press 1, the flight number and \* (asterisk) for all flights;

If you don't know the flight number, press \* (asterisk) for all flights;

Press 1 for arrivals, 2 for departures, \* (asterisk) for all flights;

Press 1 for El Al flights, 2 for all other airlines, \* (asterisk) for all airlines.

Information Bureau - 03-9710000

For general information on other services at Ben Gurion Airport

Switchboard - 03-9710111

For information on the Israel Airports Authority and the Ben Gurion Airport management, Sun. - Thur. 8 a.m. - 4 p.m.

*Ilana Kaplan, BA in education, concentration in history and special education, home room and history teacher at Josephthal School in Azur.*

*"Openness is the name of the game, both for students and teachers. When you are open-minded, you become a better person and achieve much more."*

**A GOOD TEACHER IS A TEACHER FOR LIFE**

Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport



## BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1995

## Avner's half-year losses near NIS 19m.

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

AVNER Insurance reported yesterday net losses of NIS 18.86 million for the first half of the year.

The company's accumulated deficit fell to NIS 853m., from NIS 1.16m. in the same period last year. Management attributed the improvement to a recent recovery program formulated by board of directors together with the Supervisor of Insurance. The program is expected to reduce gradually the firm's actuarial and accumulated deficit.

Management attributed improved first-half earnings to a hike in compulsory insur-

ance tariffs in September 1993, a growth in the number of cars on the road, and greater efficiency in the collection of fees due.

At the end of August, the Tel Aviv District Court ruled that Avner should not include its share of Eliahu Insurance premium payments due to insufficient data justifying the inclusion. Avner said Eliahu's premiums reached NIS 55m. in 1994 and another NIS 35.5m. in the first six months of 1995.

The company's investment portfolio increased NIS 400m., to NIS 3.35 billion.

## Changes made in provident fund rules

FINANCE Minister Avraham Shohat approved last week a number of changes giving provident fund managers greater investment flexibility as well as improving withdrawal and transfer conditions for fund members.

The regulations go into effect shortly and are a result of requests made by both fund managers and members.

According to the changes, the funds can lend 5 percent of their overall assets, up from 4%. In addition, funds are not required to limit the non-linked portion of their loans to 1% of the overall loan amount, giving the funds the option to choose the loan's linked portion.

The percentage of non-commercial assets a fund can hold has also been increased from 50% to 60%.

Loans will now be limited to five years, with interest and linkage considerations determined by the funds.

Members who withdraw money from the funds are entitled to interest payments starting from one month after their request is made until the day the money is made available to them.

In addition, the funds cannot delay the transfer of members' rights for an extra month, which has been common practice until now.

(Itim)

## More bank provident funds up

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BANK Leumi's and Bank Discount's provident funds achieved positive real yields last month, similar to those of the country's other commercial banks.

Since the start of the year, the Leumi's and Discount's funds also achieved real yields.

Leumi's funds achieved average real yields of two percent last month led by Otzma, which had a real yield of 1.91% and an accumulated yield of 2.23% since the start of the year.

Sion achieved a real yield of 1.88% in August and an accumulated real yield of 2.2%.

Zur achieved a real yield of 1.97% in August and an accumulated yield of 1.95%, while Rimmon achieved a real yield of 1.66% last month and an accumulated yield of 1.02%.

The bank's smaller funds achieved real yields of 0.83%-2.99% last month. Since the start of the year, the funds achieved a real yield of 1.55%-3.12%.

Bank Discount's funds achieved real yields of 1.84%-2.02% last month and 2.21%-2.67% since the start of the year.

Tamar, with assets of NIS 10.94 billion, had a real yield of 1.9% in August and an accumulated real yield of 2.21%.

In August, Gefen achieved a real yield of 1.92% and an accumulated yield of 2.43%. Shikma had a real yield of 2.02% and an accumulated yield of 0.67%, and Pitzum recorded a real yield of 1.84% and an accumulated yield of 2.57%.



Manufacturers Association director Yoram Beizovsky (left) and Australian counterpart Alan Handberg sign an agreement yesterday in Tel Aviv to encourage improved economic and trade relations between the two countries. Exports to Australia reached \$177m. last year, while imports were \$60m. (Israel Sam)

## Teva files Copaxone marketing request with UK

RACHEL NEIMAN

TEVA has filed a request with the UK Health Ministry's Medicines Control Agency (MCA) to market Copaxone.

The request is the first step in receiving permission to market the Multiple Sclerosis treatment drug in the European Union. Following UK approval, Teva will request mutual recognition for the drug in all EU countries.

Teva said the filing is "an important landmark in a process whose goal is to receive

marketing permits for Copaxone in principal world markets during 1996."

There are 350,000 MS sufferers in western Europe and 300,000 in North America.

The company, through subsidiaries in the UK, Germany, Italy, and Holland, is also negotiating strategic partnerships for marketing Copaxone in other European and non-

European countries.

Teva, which filed a New Drug Application (NDA) with the US Food and Drug Administration, is completing its response to questions posed by the FDA at an August 30 meeting. The meeting came nine days after the FDA issued a "refuse to file" letter due to the lack of certain reference standards and markers in the chemistry, manufacturing, and control section of the NDA.

## Bezeq: We can easily invest \$100m. to cover India bid

BEZEQ said yesterday it can easily invest \$100 million from its budget to help cover its part in a \$27 billion, multinational bid to install phone lines in India.

India's media has commented that the consortium, led by H-machal Futuristic Communications (HFCL), has overreached itself, outbidding giant groups with partners like AT&T.

But Bezeq, which is slated for privatization later this year, says financing will not be a problem.

"We can invest up to \$100m. in an international project without restriction," Yoav Krill, Bezeq vice president of international ventures, told Reuters. "Above that, we need ministerial approval."

Local companies are eager to penetrate the huge Indian market after decades of diplomatic animosity between the two countries.

Bezeq is leading the way. It is part of a group that offered \$27b. for 15-year licenses to wire up nine telephone zones in India, many zones it will actually be awarded last year.

The bids were opened on August 31.

HFCL has 44 percent of HFCL-Bezeq Telecom, while Bezeq has 26%, Thailand's

Shinawatra 15%, and India's Kotak Mahindra Finance 15%.

There have been reports that India may limit the number of zones a private group can take up.

Krill, who just returned from India, said "the talk" there is that the consortium will be restricted to two or three zones. Official word is expected in two to three weeks, he said.

"But it won't bother us if we win four or five," he said. "If we need to invest more money we will seek ministerial approval."

Raising the rest of the funds will not be a problem, he said. "The biggest financial corporations flew from Hong Kong to India to meet with us," Krill said, naming Goldman Sachs and Chase as a few who have talked with consortium members.

Several large telecommunications companies have expressed interest in joining the group as partners, Krill said. But the group would only examine such possibilities after it finds out how many zones it will actually be awarded, he added.

Ma'ariv reported that AT&T has indicated to Bezeq its interest in joining the consortium.

Cable & Wireless owns 10.02% of Bezeq. (Reuters)



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## ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patash (foreign currency deposit rates) (10.9.95)			
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	5.000	5.000	5.125
Pound sterling (£100,000)	4.750	4.750	4.875
German mark (DM 200,000)	2.425	2.425	2.500
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	1.825	1.825	1.875
Yen (10 million yen)	1.825	1.825	1.875

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (8.9.95)			
CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES	
Currency basket	Buy	Buy	Rep.
U.S. dollar	3.4184	3.4738	3.4738
German mark	3.0354	3.0784	3.0784
Pound sterling	4.6738	4.7482	4.7482
French franc	0.5919	0.6216	0.6216
Japanese yen (100)	3.0232	3.0781	3.0781
Dutch guilder	1.8155	1.8448	1.8448
Swiss franc	2.4712	2.5111	2.5111
Swedish krona	0.4181	0.4249	0.4249
Norwegian krona	0.4888	0.4738	0.4738
Denmark krone	0.5236	0.5361	0.5361
Finland mark	0.8891	0.8992	0.8992
Australian dollar	2.2528	2.2890	2.2890
Canadian dollar	2.2710	2.3138	2.3138
S. African rand	0.2845	0.2878	0.2878
Belgian franc (10)	0.5894	1.0044	1.0044
Austrian schilling (10)	2.8915	2.9992	2.9992
Italian lira (1000)	1.8899	1.8990	1.8990
Jordanian dinar	—	0.38	0.38
Egyptian pound	—	3.8118	3.8118
ECU	4.7882	4.8850	4.8850
West germ.	—	—	—
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3750	2.4184	2.4184

\* These rates vary according to bank. \*\* Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

הכרזת אישור



Key Representative Rates	
US dollar	NIS 4.0500
Sterling	NIS 4.7130
Mark	NIS 2.0510

## Gold, silver, platinum close lower

### COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

AFTER reaching highs during early trading on Friday, precious metals futures were affected by profit-taking in the afternoon and traded downward until closing.

Some of the profit-taking was due to Friday's October options expiration, traders said.

At the close, December gold was \$1.10 lower at \$385.60, while December silver was \$0.05 lower at \$5.403. October platinum was \$2.70 lower at \$431.10, and September palladium was \$0.35 higher at \$147.00.

Prices of New York copper futures traded in very narrow ranges Friday amid profit-taking, sources said. At the close, December copper prices were down 105 points at \$1.3070.

Chicago soy futures settled slightly higher, with colder mid-western temperatures providing some modest support. September futures settled up one at \$6.23 per bushel.

CBOT corn prices ended mixed in light trading ahead of today's release of the USDA September crop production report, traders said. The September futures ended up 1 1/4 at \$2.91 per bushel.

Chicago wheat futures tumbled late on Friday, creating new session lows ahead of the closing bell as long as apparently attempted to book profits ahead of the weekend. September wheat futures closed \$0.06 cents lower at \$4.62.

New York cotton futures settled higher on Friday after quiet and steady trading going into the weekend and ahead of today's USDA crop report, sources said. In addition, a supply and demand report is scheduled to be released today, which is expected to shift focus to worsening demand problems. December closed 10 points higher at \$0.7995 per pound.

World sugar futures settled slightly higher on Friday, after a session of quiet, range-bound trading. The October sugar futures contract settled 10 points higher at \$0.1086.

New York coffee futures closed lower on Friday on continued speculative technical selling and light trading in a wide range.

The September coffee futures contract settled 90 points lower at \$1.3730 and the December contract settled 290 points lower at \$1.3685.

New York cocoa futures closed lower on bearish fundamental news after heavy trading in a tight range. The September cocoa futures contract settled \$13 lower at \$1.275. The December contract also settled \$13 lower at \$1.290.

Courtesy of Michael Zweigler, CommStock Trading Ltd.

# Olivetti launches mega cash call

MILAN (Reuters) - Italian information and technology group Olivetti launched a huge cash call on Saturday and announced job cuts worldwide as it fights to resolve its financial woes.

President Carlo De Benedetti told reporters Olivetti was ready to launch a \$1.4 billion capital increase, the largest in the firm's history and the second time in two years it has turned to the market for fresh funds.

In separate operations, De Benedetti holdings CIR and Cofide will hold two further rights issues of \$288 million and \$103.9m. respectively.

As part of its restructuring plan, Olivetti is also looking to lay off 5,000 employees around the world by the end of June 1996.

Olivetti has already cut its workforce to around 33,000, from 58,000 in 1991, and De Benedetti said he had resisted pressure from banks underwriting the cash call for more drastic action.

Announcing the mega rights issue, De Benedetti said Olivetti had made a first-half loss, after extraordinary items, of \$670.6m. in the first half of 1995.

Olivetti, one of the most famous names in Italian industry, has now piled up cumulative losses of \$2.03b. over the past 4 1/2 years, and at the end of June had net debts totaling \$1.24b.

Much of the problem has been tied to the company's loss-making computer division.

De Benedetti said his company was buying US investment bank Lehman Brothers International's eight percent stake in Olivetti for \$174.6m., raising Olivetti's stake in the company to 59 percent.

The Olivetti cash call, which offers shareholders three new ordinary shares for every two held, is being organized by Italian merchant bank Mediobanca - the second major financial operation it has handled in 10 days.

As a result, Nestle was able to buy its green coffee relatively cheaply last year but unable to benefit fully early this year when prices fell heavily. The benefits of the lower coffee price should flow through into earnings in the second half, they said.

Despite predicting the coffee effect, most analysts still underestimated the total cost of goods sold, which came to \$11.70b., compared with \$11.43b. a year earlier.

"We didn't realize (the coffee effect) was this hard. One wonders what else the problem might be on the cost side," Credit Suisse food industry analyst James Amoroso said.

## Nestle shares plummet on 11.8% profit drop

ZURICH (Reuters) - Shares in Nestle SA, the world's biggest food and beverages group, plunged on Friday after the company announced an unexpected 11.8 percent profit drop in the first half of the year.

But the company said it still expected profits for the full year to match those of 1994, excluding an exceptional gain made last year from selling some of its cosmetics businesses.

Six-month group net profit was \$916 million against \$1.04 billion a year earlier. Trading profit was 10.7 percent lower at \$2.07b.

Following the news, Nestle's registered shares fell in heavy trading on the Zurich

stock market to close at 1,200 francs, down 30 Swiss francs or 2.4% from Thursday.

The market had expected a year-on-year change in Nestle's six-month group profit of between plus 8% and minus 5%.

Finance director Renato Domeniconi said Nestle's earnings in the first half were hit by the impact of last year's strong rise in green (raw) coffee prices, but this effect was wearing off and the company was optimistic about its outlook.

Industry analysts said Nestle took up special forward contracts to protect itself from a sharp rise in green coffee prices last year.

## Leeson: I don't think of myself as a criminal

LONDON (Reuters) - The British trader who broke Barings Bank has finally ended his silence, predicting more bankruptcies could come and insisting he was not the only one to blame for a gamble that stunned the world.

"I have nothing to hide. I'm the guy who wants to go to jail now. I understand what I've done," Nick Leeson said in his first media interview since Britain's oldest merchant bank collapsed under his high-risk trades on Asian futures markets.

"But I don't think of myself as a criminal. I didn't steal any money. I've certainly misled people... but it never entered my mind - not once - that Barings would fold as a result."

Leeson made his comments in an interview with BBC television that was taped in his German jail.

The British-born trader - who joked about his poor grasp of math - even said he wanted to use his expertise of bankrupting banks to help the authorities prevent further such collapses.

Frankfurt cell since March, where he is awaiting extradition proceedings to Singapore.

In the interview, Leeson relived the roller-coaster world of buying and selling futures contracts on Asia's fast-paced markets and the growing realization he was out of his depth. "There are a lot of similarities with gamblers," he recalled. "Unfortunately I lost more than I won."

Leeson was clear he does not intend to be the lone fall guy. He placed blame in three directions: • Leeson talked of his "blind loyalty" to subordinates in the Singapore office, saying he concealed their errors. • He said "there should have been massive alarm bells ringing" in high places in London about the amounts of money he was dealing in. "And that was probably the biggest failing."

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Multi-sided trading

Commercial Banks	Price	Change	Volume
Bank Leumi	187.50	-0.5	
Bank Hapoalim	184.00	-0.5	
Bank Mizrahi	181.00	-0.5	
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Bank Leumi			



# Safed shocks Eilat

THE Elders of Safed can't remember celebrations like the ones that broke out in the town last night after their Hapoel newcomers to the National Basketball League shocked Hapoel Eilat 89-87 in the curtain-raiser to the 1995-96 season.

The rest of the opening-night action went pretty much as expected. Hapoel Galil Elyon made it a sweep for the Northerners by beating Maccabi Jerusalem, 82-65 in the capital, while Maccabi Rishon LeZion destroyed Hapoel Gvat 105-88 at home and Bnei Herzliya cruised past Hapoel Holon 92-75 on the road.

Melvin Neubern, who used to back up the Detroit Pistons' Isiah Thomas, showed he's made of similar stuff when he sank Safed's last four points, including a three-pointer and a foul shot, to lift coach Moshe Gershon's team to the surprising victory.

Safed charged adults NIS 100 a ticket on opening night, but those who shelled out the ridiculous fee got their money's worth. Spurred by the fine play of captain Erez Hazan and youngsters Yariv Weizman and Barak Peleg, the new kids on the block were never cowed by Eilat's collection of stars, and opened up a 47-41 lead.

Eilat's Lawrence Funderburke was a disappointment, but coach Efi Birnbaum's club fought back behind J.J. Eubanks (23 points) and cut the lead to a single point with just 45 seconds left behind two foul shots by Dror Cohen.

## ARYEH DEAN COHEN

That's when Neubern uncoded his three-pointer, only to have Eilat answer in kind seconds later. Fouled on the next possession, Neubern missed his first shot, then hit the second, giving Safed an 89-87 edge. Rotem Elich took the ball down court but ran into a wall of Safed defenders, coughed up the ball, and Safed fans raced on court to celebrate the historic victory, carrying their heroes on their shoulders to the tune of "Mashich, Mashich, Mashich."

Neubern's 17 led Safed, but it was Weizman and Peleg who were the sparkplugs who fired up their club to achieve the upset.

The match-up between last year's State Cup rivals, Hapoel Holon and Bnei Herzliya, fizzled early. Amir Katz warmed up his hot hand with seven of Herzliya's first eight points, and they raced to a 52-39 lead behind the outstanding play of The Sheriff, David Thirkill, who scored 25 overall, 19 in the first half.

Holon, playing in Goren-Yizreel because of a punishment imposed on the Holon fans for unsportsmanlike conduct in last year's State Cup series vs. Herzliya, never got much going and trailed by 13 at the half. Shelton Jones had 20 for Holon, but Thirkill held Milton Wagner to just 15. Katz added 20 for Herzliya.

Rishon LeZion tore apart visit-

ing Gvat behind Brian Oliver, Danny Gott and James Gully. Gully's power under the boards was just too much for Gvat, who got the usual scoring output from Derrick Gervin (32) but less than expected from former Syracuse University and CBA standout Stevie Thompson (15). Danny Gott showed he's fully recovered from an injury by putting in 21 points and Oliver had 29.

David Blatt's Young Guns shot down a weak Maccabi Jerusalem squad as Gur Shelef, Assaf Dotan, Alon Stein and Gil Sela showed youth may indeed be served in the North this year. Jerusalem stayed in the game for a half behind the three-point shooting of Avner Saban (11 points), but then crumbled and failed to get much offense from Lamont Strothers. Joe Dawson also scored only 10 for Yoram Harush's club. Shelef and Dotan had 17 apiece for Galil Elyon.

Tomorrow night, league action continues with Hapoel Tel Aviv hosting Hapoel Jerusalem and Maccabi Tel Aviv traveling to Maccabi Ramat Gan tomorrow.

## National Basketball League First Round

	W	L	Pts.
1. Hapoel Galil Elyon	1	0	2
2. Maccabi Rishon	1	0	2
3. Bnei Herzliya	1	0	2
4. Hapoel Safed	1	0	2
5. Hapoel Holon	1	0	1
6. Hapoel Eilat	0	1	1
7. Maccabi Jerusalem	0	1	1
8. Hapoel Gvat	0	1	1
9. Maccabi Tel Aviv	0	0	0
10. Hapoel Tel Aviv	0	0	0
11. Hapoel Jerusalem	0	0	0
12. Maccabi Ramat Gan	0	0	0

NEW YORK (AP) — Andre Agassi and Pete Sampras, the top two players in men's tennis, overcame tough challenges Saturday and advanced to a showdown for the US Open championship last night.

The match had not been completed by press deadline.

Agassi, unable to break Boris Becker's serve, found another way to win, taking the first two sets in tiebreakers, 7-6(7-4), 7-6(7-2). Then, after losing the third set 4-6, Agassi finished his man off, winning the fourth set and the match, 6-4. It was his 26th consecutive match victory since losing in the Wimbledon semifinals against Becker in July.

Playing on the fifth anniversary of his first US Open championship, Sampras capitalized on the few opportunities he had and fought off Jim Courier 7-5, 4-6, 6-4, 7-5.

The two men's semifinals were sandwiched around the women's championship with Steffi Graf winning a dream showdown with Monica Seles 7-6(7-5), 0-6, 6-3.

Agassi and Sampras played tenacious tennis to set up last night's championship confrontation. Both were threatened by tough opponents and eventually both prevailed.

Service breaks were tough to come by in both matches. There were just four in the earlier match, three by Sampras and one by Courier, and each decided a set. Agassi and Becker had two each in the late match, sailing through the first two sets without a break.

Each set barreled into a tie-breaker. And each time, Agassi



ALL-AMERICAN FINAL — Andre Agassi downed Boris Becker to move into US Open finals against Sampras.

won, drilling serves and returns that buzzed all over the court.

Becker thought some of the points should have gone his way.

He complained bitterly to chair umpire Wayne McKewen, pointing at the corner following one of Agassi's shots that nicked the baseline. "One!" he exclaimed. "Just one for me!"

He then took one for himself, winning a point and derisively rolling the ball off the court as he headed for a changeover.

Finally, in the fourth game of

the third set, Agassi had the first break of the match to lead 4-1. Becker refused to go away, though, getting his first break and winning the next five games to force a fourth set. His wife, Barbara, seated at court-side, hid her eyes, unable to stand the tension.

In the fourth set, they stayed on serve until the 10th game. Then, suddenly, Agassi sprang, breaking Becker without losing a point to win the set and the match.

Agassi shrugged off the third

set lapse. "It would be weird if I went a whole match and didn't lose my serve," he said.

Sampras, meanwhile, will go after his third Open title while Agassi seeks to retain the championship he won a year ago.

Sampras was the youngest champion in Open history when he won the title in 1990 at the age of 19 years, 28 days. Now he's all grown up at 24, and played tough, taut tennis against Courier, waiting for opportunities and seizing them when they came.

## Barcelona arrives for Negev match

ORI LEWIS

JOHANN Cruyff's Barcelona side arrived in Israel last night ahead of its UEFA Cup clash with Hapoel Beersheba tomorrow.

The Catalans made their way from Ben-Gurion Airport to their hotel in Ashkelon. This morning they begin preparations for the clash at Beersheba's municipal stadium, which is expected to be filled to its 15,000 capacity for the match which kicks off at 8 p.m.

Beersheba is abuzz ahead of the match, which is already being hailed as a triumph for the Negev, regardless of the outcome. Even President Ezer Weizman has promised to turn up.

**MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS:**  
St. Louis 7, San Diego 5  
San Francisco 8, Chicago 3  
Colorado 6, Cincinnati 2  
Atlanta 9, Florida 5  
Philadelphia 6, Houston 4 (11)  
Los Angeles 11, Pittsburgh 2  
New York 6, Montreal 5  
**SATURDAY'S AL RESULTS:**  
Cleveland 2, Baltimore 1  
Detroit 5, Toronto 1  
New York 9, Boston 1  
Oakland 6, Chicago 2  
Texas 10, Milwaukee 4  
Seattle 6, Kansas City 2  
California 6, Minnesota 5

LONDON (Reuters) — Kent is on the verge of winning its first trophy for 17 years after trouncing Lancashire by seven wickets at Old Trafford, Manchester, to strengthen its position at the top of the Sunday cricket League.

Mark Benson's side, helped by the rain in the south which meant no results for both Warwickshire and Worcestershire, will lift the title if it wins its final match — against Warwickshire — at Canterbury next Sunday.

Warwickshire, which may today add the county championship to its NatWest Trophy triumph of last weekend, looks like being prevented by a far inferior run rate from completing another hat-trick even if it beats Kent and Worcestershire lose.

**Sunday League (40 overs) Results:**  
At Scarborough: Yorkshire beat Sussex by seven wickets. Sussex 164-8 innings closed (N.Lenhams 56 not out). Yorkshire 165-3 in 39.5 overs (A.McGrath 72).  
At Old Trafford: Kent beat Lancashire by seven wickets. Lancashire

126 in 36.5 overs. Kent 128-3 in 31.2 overs.  
At Northamptonshire: Northamptonshire v Worcestershire match abandoned. Worcestershire 118-1 in 22.1 overs (T.Moody 56) when rain stopped play.

At Edgbaston: Derbyshire v Warwickshire match abandoned. Derbyshire 81-5 in 25 overs when rain stopped play.

At Uxbridge: Middlesex v Leicestershire — match abandoned due to rain.

At Cardiff: Glamorgan v Nottinghamshire match abandoned — rain.

At Southampton: Hampshire v Somerset match abandoned — rain.

At Bristol: Gloucestershire v Durham match abandoned — rain.

**Sunday League Table**

	P	W	L	T	NR	Pts.
Kent	18	12	3	0	1	50
Warwickshire	18	11	4	0	1	46
Lancashire	18	11	5	0	0	44
Essex	18	10	5	0	0	42
Glamorgan	18	8	6	0	2	36
Derbyshire	18	7	6	1	2	34
Leicestershire	18	7	7	0	1	34
Sussex	18	7	7	0	1	34
Surrey	18	6	8	0	2	28
Northamptonshire	18	5	8	1	2	26
Nottinghamshire	18	5	8	1	1	26
Worcestershire	18	5	8	0	3	26
Gloucestershire	18	4	8	1	3	24
Durham	18	5	10	0	2	22
Hampshire	18	3	11	1	1	16
Middlesex	18	3	11	0	2	16

## Wright's last-second strike lifts Arsenal

LONDON (AP) — Ian Wright struck with a close range diving header four seconds from the end of regulation time yesterday to give Arsenal a 1-0 victory at last place Manchester City.

The English striker denied to meet a well-placed right wing cross from Dutch forward Dennis Bergkamp to beat German goalkeeper Eike Immel from four yards. The goal gave unbeaten Arsenal all three points which moved the Gunners up five places to sixth in the standings.

The result leaves City stranded at the foot with only one point from its first five games of the campaign, the team's worst start for 23 years. Wright was unfortunate not to score before half-time when he powered a 25-yard shot goalwards only for Immel to palm over the bar. Arsenal now has two victories and three ties from its first five games. Nottingham Forest, one victory and four ties, is the only other unbeaten team of the 20 Premier League clubs with Newcastle and Manchester United, both with four victories and one defeat, heading the standings with 12 points.

In a Division One game yesterday, Leicester gained a 1-0 victory at neighboring Derby to move to the top of the standings, the goal coming from England Under 21 forward Julian Joachim.

Celtic won 3-2 at Aberdeen to join Rangers atop the Scottish Premier League with two goals from midfielder John Collins and another from German forward Andreas Thom.

Rangers, which downed Raith 4-0 on Saturday, leads the standings on goal difference but the two Glasgow clubs are the only ones with 100 percent records from their first two games.

## Giants fall in OT

KANSAS CITY (AP) — Lin Elliott's 23-yard field goal with 7:11 gone in overtime completed Kansas City's 17-point comeback yesterday as the Chiefs held the New York Giants to only one second-half first down in a 20-17 victory.

The Chiefs, despite quarterback Steve Bono's mistakes, scored two fourth-quarter touchdowns to tie the game. The Giants went ahead 17-3 in the fourth quarter on a weird play that saw Keith Hamilton, a 290-pound tackle return a fumble 87 yards, the Chiefs reeled off touchdown drives of 73 and 67 yards, twice converting fourth-down plays, and forced overtime.

Elsewhere yesterday, Irving Fryar caught two touchdowns passes and the Miami Dolphins forced three key turnovers and shut down tight end Ben Coates as they beat the New England Patriots for the 12th time in 13 games, 20-3 yesterday.

Fryar caught a 67-yard pass from Marino for a 10-0 lead with

2:40 left in the first quarter. Then Fryar scored on a 31-yard pass from halfback Terry Kirby for a 17-3 halftime lead.

In other action yesterday, Jeff Hostetler completed 22 of 29 passes for 205 yards and two touchdowns as the Oakland Raiders beat the Washington Redskins 20-8.

Hostetler threw a 1-yard strike to tight end Andrew Glover and 8 yards to running back Derrick Fennell.

The Redskins scored on field goals by Eddie Murray of 21 and 43 yards, and on a safety when Derrick Brownlow blocked Jeff Gossett's punt out of the end zone late in the game.

**YESTERDAY'S NFL RESULTS:**  
Oakland 20, Washington 8  
St. Louis 17, New Orleans 13  
Minnesota 20, Detroit 10  
Cleveland 23, Tampa Bay 6  
Kansas City 20, NY Giants 17 (OT)  
Miami 20, New England 3  
Buffalo 31, Carolina 9  
Pittsburgh 34, Houston 17  
Complete roundup in tomorrow's World of Sport magazine.

## Quality Classifieds

### RATES

PRICES ARE AS FOLLOWS — All rates include VAT:  
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MONTHLY (24 insertions) NIS 561.60 10 words (minimum) each additional word — NIS 56.16.

**DEADLINES OFFICE:**  
Jerusalem: weekdays — 12 noon the day before publication; for Friday and Sunday — 8 p.m. on Thursday.  
Tel Aviv and Haifa: weekdays — 12 noon, 2 days before publication; Friday and Sunday — 4 p.m. Thursday in Tel Aviv and 12 noon Thursday in Haifa.

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#### PERSONAL

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## Traffic fine ceiling raised to NIS 2,000

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE government yesterday adopted a series of proposals by the Ministerial Committee on Road Accidents to speed up punishment for traffic offenders and raise maximum traffic fines to NIS 2,000.

This fine is to be levied on overloaded trucks, while the fine for other serious offenses is to be raised from NIS 500 to NIS 1,000. The committee includes the transport, police, and justice ministers.

The government also accepted its recommendation to increase the number of traffic policemen, with a goal of 1,800. In 1995, some 150 traffic police are to be hired, while the force is to be increased by another 275 during

1996. To speed up the judicial process, eight traffic judges are to be appointed during the coming two years, three of them this year.

Finance Minister Avraham Shohat said the change would be paid for from existing budgets in the relevant ministries. Its cost reforms would be about NIS 50 million, he said.

In response, the Movement to Free Traffic said that by increasing fines, the authorities are evading their responsibility.

It maintained that the heavy flow of traffic is the main cause of serious accidents.

The movement said the real solution is to be in building suburban railroads and subways.

## Drunk driver gets two-year jail term and loses license

A HAIFA man convicted of causing a fatal traffic accident while driving drunk was sentenced to two years in prison and had his license revoked for 20 years by the Haifa District Court yesterday.

David Bukhnik, 23, was driving four friends to the pub area in the Haifa Bay area in December 1990 when he veered off the road.

His car overturned, killing one of the passengers and injuring two others.

The prosecution said that Bukhnik had gotten drunk from hard liquor and was speeding when the accident occurred.

In sentencing, Judge Raya Hofri-Winograd noted that the wave of fatal accidents must be fought with punishments that will deter others.

(tim)

## Peres to meet Chirac in Paris

Jerusalem Post Staff

FOREIGN Minister Shimon Peres left yesterday for a short visit to Paris, where he will meet with senior French officials, including President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppe.

It will be Peres's first meeting with these officials since the establishment of the new government in France this past spring.

Peres will update the French officials on the peace process, and will discuss a series of upcoming regional events, including the Amman Conference and the European-Mediterranean Conference in Barcelona, of which France is one of the initiators.

France is also involved in providing economic aid to the Palesti-

nians, and in various frameworks of the multilateral negotiations.

The recent wave of terror attacks in France will also be discussed during the meetings.

Chirac said yesterday that France will put more troops on the streets to help guard public buildings, schools and transport.

He said the soldiers would free up police to concentrate on hunting the attackers, whom he described as probably Moslem fundamentalists, who have planted six bombs in as many weeks, killing seven people and wounding more than 130.

Peres will return to Israel early tomorrow morning.



Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres yesterday.

(Isaac Harari)

## Spanish PM here, while his coalition collapses

ALON PINKAS

WITH his ruling coalition disintegrating back home, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez arrived here yesterday in his capacity as president of the European Union. The presidency rotates among EU member states.

Amid criticism from Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that the EU isn't doing enough to support the Israel-PLO peace process, Gonzalez arrived with his political future more bleak than ever and his thoughts visibly far away from Hebron or Gaza.

"He is going to make a major step in the relations between Europe and the Middle East," said Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, welcoming Gonzalez at Ben-Gurion Airport.

"We think it is a timely visit of great importance, great hope in the midst of the peace negotiations," Peres told reporters. "I am sure that the visit of the prime minister of Spain will contribute greatly to the climate, the effort,

and the prospects of peace in the Middle East."

Gonzalez met yesterday with Peres and Rabin. He is scheduled to meet today with President Ezer Weizman, and later with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in the Gaza Strip. He will also visit Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria on a five-day regional tour.

Gonzalez told reporters he is optimistic about the future of the region. "The peace process is ir-

reversible," he said.

Gonzalez did not react to Rabin's statement that the EU should give preferential financial support to countries supporting the peace process.

Rabin was also upset by the EU ambassadors' boycott of last week's ceremonies for Jerusalem 3000. None of the European ambassadors showed up. The EU criticized Jerusalem 3000 for ignoring Palestinian claims to eastern Jerusalem and focusing solely on the city's Jewish history.

## Na'amat's Friedman: Take religion out of Histadrut

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

SEPARATE religion from the Histadrut, demanded Na'amat Chairwoman Ofra Friedman at the Histadrut Executive's session yesterday.

Friedman challenged the Histadrut leadership's move to set up dozens of libraries of religious tape cassettes in large work places, including lessons by Shas leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef and other haredi rabbis specializing in attracting the secular.

The initiative comes from the Histadrut's religious department, headed by Shas, which has circu-

lated leaflets among unions and in labor councils, proposing they open religious cassette libraries and purchase the cassettes for a specially reduced price.

Executive member Yehuda Avidan, of Shas, last week denied reports that the cassettes will contain any political statements, despite the clearly political messages in many of Yosef's recorded lessons.

"Workers are busy working all day and don't have one iota of

spirituality," he said. "These cassettes will introduce a little bit of spirituality. People usually drive to work. Now they will be able to listen to a lesson in religion while they're driving."

"There is no place in the Histadrut for this kind of activity," Friedman said. "Religion should be separated from the Histadrut."

Histadrut Chairman Haim Ramon confirmed the circulation of the religious department's leaflet.

He noted, however, that the purchase will not be financed by the Histadrut, but by an external body called "Eitz Yashar." Any union wishing to buy cassettes will do so with its own funds, as it pays for any cultural activity, Ramon said.

The executive also discussed amending the Histadrut constitution so that Histadrut employees will not be allowed to serve in the Histadrut parliament. Today, about one third of Histadrut parliament members work for the labor federation.

## Ramon explains adviser's \$1m. salary as 'mostly commissions'

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE \$1 million in annual wages of the Histadrut's Hevrat Ha'ovdim legal adviser Aharon Yuran consist mostly of the commissions he gets for sales deals, and are among the lowest commissions in the market, Histadrut Chairman Haim Ramon said yesterday.

Ramon's comment came in response to the outrage among Histadrut leaders and workers after

the publication yesterday of the wages paid to Yuran last year.

The issue was raised at a meeting of Ram and Labor faction heads over the weekend, when Histadrut organization section chairman Pnini Shomer demanded of Histadrut treasurer MK Haim Oron, "how do you expect us to fire more workers while you pay Hevrat Ha'ovdim's legal ad-

viser a million shekels a year?" Oron replied: "It's not a million shekels, but a million dollars."

Shomer said afterwards "this is an outrage. Workers are being dismissed after working decades in the Histadrut, and we must tell them that we cannot afford their

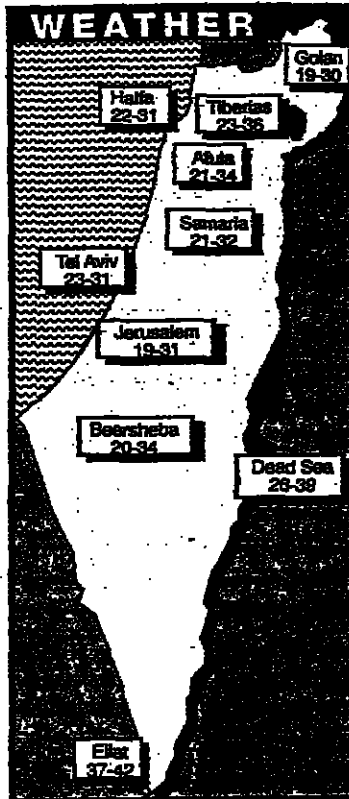
salaries." Shomer said that even if most of Yuran's pay comes from commissions on selling Histadrut assets, there is still a conflict of interests in his serving as Hevrat Ha'ovdim's legal adviser and getting fat commissions on deals.

He noted that the Histadrut can employ an adviser for some NIS 30,000 a month, the sum of Yuran's retainer, who can trans-

act the same deals as part of the job without getting a commission.

Ramon said Yuran's commission is only one eighth of a percent, while other advisers demanded from one to one and a half per cent of the deal. The high commission was a function of the \$260 million sale of Koor assets, the largest economic deal ever made in Israel, Ramon stated.

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**AROUND THE WORLD**

Location	C	F	W	P
Alexander	11	52	28	cloudy
Buenos Aires	12	54	29	cloudy
Chengdu	13	55	30	cloudy
Chongqing	14	57	31	cloudy
Guangzhou	15	59	32	cloudy
Hong Kong	16	61	33	cloudy
London	17	63	35	cloudy
Madrid	18	64	36	cloudy
Moscow	19	66	37	cloudy
New York	20	68	39	cloudy
Paris	21	70	41	cloudy
Rome	22	72	43	cloudy
Stockholm	23	73	44	cloudy
Tokyo	24	75	46	cloudy

**Winning cards**  
In yesterday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the 10 of spades, jack of hearts, jack of diamonds, and 10 of clubs.

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Location	Departure Point	Time	NIS (rtm)
Jerusalem	Mo'adon Ha'oleh	8:00 a.m.	15
	Binyanei Ha'uma	8:00 a.m.	15
Karmiel	Outside Post Office	8:00 a.m.	15
Nahariya	Bus Station	8:00 a.m.	15
Ashkelon	Opposite Bus Station	8:00 a.m.	15
Ashdod	Bus Station	8:30 a.m.	15
Safed	Yigal Allon Center	7:30 a.m.	15
Beersheba	Bus Station	7:30 a.m.	15
Arad	Bus Station	7:30 a.m.	15
Dimona	Matnass Dimona	7:00 a.m.	15
Haifa	Alongside Bus Station	8:30 a.m.	10
Tel Aviv	Hechal Hatarbut	8:30 a.m.	10
Ra'anana	Yad Lebanim	9:00 a.m.	10
Gush Etzion	Efrat Commerce Center	8:00 a.m.	15
Beit Shemesh + Givat Sharett	Bus Station at the Junction	8:30 a.m.	10

Return time from Wingate will be announced later.

**Ticket Hotline: 09-989149/982957**

הכנסת לאיסל